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**"THIS PRINCE MOST RARE": JAMES STUART AND
THE TEXTUALITY OF KINGSHIP**

by



Stephen Leslie Val King

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English

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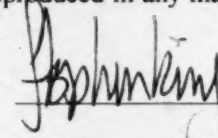
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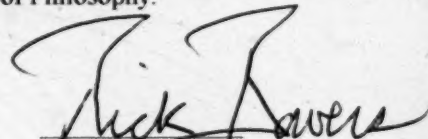
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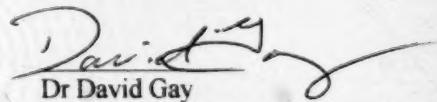
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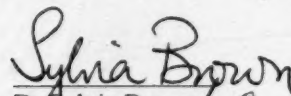
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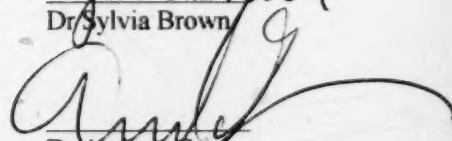
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "*This Prince Most Rare*": *James Stuart and the Textuality of Kingship* submitted by Stephen Leslie Val King in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


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Date: 18 January 2002

“It is, of course, a trifle, but there is nothing so important as trifles.”

Sherlock Holmes in Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's "The Man With the Twisted Lip"

For my mother, Claire, and my late father, James:

**"As a wheel on its axis turns, this book unwitting to itself,
Around the idea of thee."**

Walt Whitman, "To Thee Old Cause"

Abstract.

James Stuart is a rarity among English monarchs for several reasons: as a child, he had been more rigorously educated than any previous ruler; throughout his life, he was a published poet and political and religious theorist; and by the time he ascended the English throne in 1603, he had already been king of Scotland for thirty-six years. Surprisingly, most of the scholars who have studied his political theory and practice as King of England have neglected to examine his rule in light of these factors that make him unique as king. Linking together these little-studied aspects of his kingships in a literary biography, this dissertation demonstrates that although he was a proponent of divine-right rule, James was fully aware of the degree to which his Scottish kingship had been textually constructed, and was heavily reliant upon his Scottish experience as he defined his rule in England. As he made the transition from minority to majority ruler of Scotland, James actively engaged with the printed text on many levels, and through this dialogue in which he functioned as reader, patron, poet, and religious and political theorist, he developed a clear sense of his authority as king. Having served out his monarchical apprenticeship in Scotland by defining and articulating his mediating, adjudicating, creative, and divinely-ordained monarchical authority, upon his accession to the English throne he immediately sought to give his new kingship a similar textual underpinning. He republished many of his previous poetic and political works, engaged with key constructive critics who had functioned as texts in Scotland, and most importantly, originated and supervised a new translation of the Bible, a "masterpiece" that confirmed and asserted his identity as a mediating political and religious authority. As a monarch on the cutting edge of the print explosion in early modern Britain, he had a unique awareness of the text's ability to perform *work* in both of his kingdoms.

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**Introduction: "If the King of Scotland Prove a Knave, the King of England Can
Never Be an Honest Man"¹**

On 17 October 1608, amid allegations of his conversion to Catholicism, James I of England denied the charges to his Privy Council, and in a letter written in his own hand chastised its members for even considering the possibility of his guilt:

Though ye were born strangers to the country where this was done, yet are ye no strangers to the King thereof; and ye know, if the King of Scotland prove a knave, the King of England can never be an honest man. Work so, therefore, in this as having interest in your King's reputation. (Gardiner 2: 32).

Two days later, in a letter to the Earl of Salisbury, James was careful to underline the integrity of his character by claiming that his reputation as king was, in his own words, "ten times dearer to me than my life" (33). James's protestation of his honesty was a customary one, characteristic of any Protestant monarch concerned with the public appearance of the royal image in light of any perceived religious perfidy. Yet these words and the incident which precipitated them resonate in many other ways which touch at the very heart of the textual nature of James's practice of kingship as he conceived it and as others saw it.

The suspicions of James's conversion to Catholicism had their immediate beginnings in Cardinal Bellarmine's 1607 work, *Responsio ad Librum inscriptum Triplici Nodo Triplex Cuneus*. In this work, Bellarmine alleged that in 1599, James had written to Pope Clement VIII seeking the promotion of William Chisholm, Catholic Bishop of Vaison, to the position of cardinal, and in his letter had addressed Clement as "Beatissime Pater," or "blessed father," and called himself the Pope's "Obedientissimus Filius," or "most obedient son." The Privy Council, having read Bellarmine's tract, considered these blatant expressions of fealty and subservience to the Pope by a Protestant monarch to be

a grave religious affront as well as a serious threat to the English king's independent religious and monarchical authority. They demanded of James an explanation regarding the veracity of Bellarmine's accusations; James's response was his vehement denial on 17 October 1608 of having either written the letter or at any time expressed an interest in abjuring the Protestant faith. Not himself being able to remember composing a letter smacking of such obvious Popery, James in turn demanded an explanation for its existence, and to this end called to the carpet one of his secretaries of the 1599 period, James Elphinstone, Lord Balmerino. Balmerino's confession was a startling one in which he admitted to an insidious act of subversion and abuse of the royal word; he had both composed the letter and surreptitiously obtained James's signature on it. James responded with one of his characteristic methods of merciful punishment; he condemned Balmerino to death, but commuted his sentence to one of a lifetime of house arrest (32-3).

The Balmerino incident strongly illustrates James's conception of the authority and sacrosanct nature of the royal word as well as the degree to which contemporaries understood and later commentators underestimated the importance he placed on the written text. James's repeated reference to the importance of his reputation demonstrates that in his practice of kingship, royal authority was intricately linked to the articulation of the royal image. In light of how his reputation has suffered at the hands of many writers over the past 350 years, his 1608 address to the Privy Council is an ironic example of how the image which he desired to project as king and the one which others perceived were often quite different. But not only did monarchical power depend upon the regal image; it also relied upon the royal word. James's method of defending his reputation—by personally arguing to his Privy Council that his personal and royal word should be enough to convince them of his innocence—demonstrates both the authority which he felt was inherent in royal utterance and his belief that a monarch was, so to speak, as good as his word. More importantly, his response to Balmerino's appropriation

of his role as author illustrates that James did not place such strong emphasis on the spoken word alone, but considered the authorship of the written text a life-and-death matter. To end a 1607 speech to Parliament which he delivered after first becoming aware of Bellarmine's accusations, James succinctly emphasised that his written word supported his spoken one, and that his signature authorised both: "I will not say anything which I will not promise, nor promise any thing which I will not sweare; What I sweare I will signe, and what I signe, I shall with GODS grace euer performe" (*Speech of 1607* 178). By seizing control of the royal text by forging the letter to the Pope which aroused suspicions of the king's Catholic leanings, Balmerino seized control of royal authority, and by repudiating the unauthorised text and punishing Balmerino for his transgression, James subsequently reclaimed his royal word and authority; the textual contest between the two men demonstrates that both monarch and subject alike were aware of the power inherent in royal authorship.

Yet not all have realised the lasting importance which James placed on the royal texts which he wrote, or allegedly wrote. Cardinal Bellarmine, exploiting an eight-year-old letter purportedly written by James, proves to have been a notable exception since he understood that a signed and apparently sanctioned monarchical text written even in another country provided invaluable religious leverage against a monarch who relied in large part upon his authorship to reinforce his kingship. Balmerino, however, presumably forging the letter in a sort of exercise of power of attorney for a Protestant monarch whom he as a Catholic believed was not in his right mind, gravely underestimated how sacrosanct James believed his royal authorship to be. But Balmerino is not alone in having made this mistake; for the past 350 years, James's biographers have consistently failed to take into account the extent to which his function as royal author and controller of texts fundamentally influenced his practice of kingship. Nor have they properly documented how James's preoccupation with the authorship of texts extended from his rule in Scotland to that in England—even though his statement to the

Privy Council that his perceived authorial indiscretions as Scottish king had implications for his kingship in England demonstrates that he could not help but view one kingship in terms of the other, and expected others to see this intimate connection between them. As an example of how others have perceived but have tended to underestimate the importance which he invested in the written presentation of the royal image and the authorship of monarchical texts in both Scotland and England, then, the Balmerino incident is a good touchstone from which to begin an appraisal of James's kingships, particularly one examining his use of the printed word to develop a unique brand of political thought and project an authoritative image of himself as patron, author, mediator, engager in dialogue, and divine-right monarch.

If James Stuart's reputation were indeed as important to him as he indicated to the Privy Council in 1608, he would have been alternately disgusted and delighted by later representations of him by historians seeking to find an explanation for the English Civil War. The so-called "Whig" historians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, placing the blame for the events of the 1640s squarely on the shoulders of the monarchy, and following in the vein of Sir Anthony Weldon with his vengeful portrait of the uncouth James in his *Court and Character of King James*, often saw fit to reach back to the time of James's English rule for the ultimate causes of the conflict. Consequently, the list of unflattering portrayals of James from the period of the English Civil War to the present is a long one. In Thomas May's *History of the Parliament of England* and John Vicars' *England's Parliamentarie Chronicle*, for instance, both Charles I and James I appear not just as kings actively and unreasonably seeking to limit the powers of Parliament, but also as thoroughly unlikeable and inept monarchs. By the later part of the eighteenth century, in her *History of England from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick Line*, Catherine Macaulay would portray Charles, and particularly James, as worthy only of scorn and contempt. Even by the nineteenth century, such opinions, though often somewhat moderated, still existed: Thomas Babington Macaulay's *History*

of England would be extremely critical of James's polity and personal habits; S.R. Gardiner's evaluation of "James's unhappy reign" (4: 328) in his comprehensive ten volume *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642* would influence perceptions of James's kingship well into the next century. So pervasive was the criticism levelled at James as both king and person, in fact, that as late as 1968 Geddes MacGregor would disparagingly call him "Queen James" (172). Alan G.R. Smith would later take a considerably more moderate stance, but would ultimately speak for many when he stated that James "was certainly not one of the more successful rulers of England" (17).

Of course, though James has had his share of detractors, he has also been defended by staunch supporters, who have been as equally extreme in their defence of him and his kingships as others have been in their criticism. Embroiled in a bitter dispute with their "Whig" counterparts, the "Tory" historians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries blamed Parliament for the Civil War, and regarded James and Charles as monarchs who had been wronged both by Parliament and by subsequent scholars. With his *Short View of the Late Troubles in England*, William Dugdale became one of the more notable seventeenth-century advocates of the two early Stuarts, and Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, became the most vocal Royalist supporter of the early eighteenth century upon the posthumous 1702-4 publication of his *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*. In the mid-to-late part of the century, David Hume's *History of Great Britain* provided more modest support for James, and set the tone for later authors such as J.W. Croker, who were less bombastic in their defence of his rule than the earlier Royalists had been. Perhaps due to the enormous popularity of T.B. Macaulay's work and the comprehensiveness and apparent objectivity of Gardiner's, James's detractors seemed to have the final word as the twentieth century progressed, for in terms of his character and kingship, James had few vocal supporters to counter the dominant portrayal of him as an uncouth and inept monarch.² And so although James's critics

have held sway for most of the twentieth century, historically a polarity of opinion has existed regarding James's personal reputation and overall competency as monarch, for he has been an historical figure capable of evoking two highly divergent responses among those who have studied his reigns.

In her 1983 article "James VI and I: Two Kings or One?," Jenny Wormald examines this dichotomy of representation, and concludes that in historical accounts until the 1970s, James has existed as two kings—either crass, foolish, and incompetent, or cultured, wise, and politically astute. She says that both representations of James cannot be the truth, and that one true version of his kingships must exist (187-8). As is often the case, the truth with respect to James does not lie solely in either of the extremes, but seems to lie somewhere in the middle. From the 1970s on, revisionist historians began to explore this middle area by attempting to mediate between the two extreme views of James and provide a more balanced view of James's personal and political natures. Perhaps taking their cue from Charles H. Carter's ambivalent rather than partisan 1964 article, "Gondomar: Ambassador to James I," which assesses James's foreign policy as neither a roaring success nor a resounding failure, these scholars began to portray James as a man and monarch of both great success and notable failures. S.J. Houston, for instance, revised both traditional conflicting views of James by seeing him as "an exceptional man whose qualities fell sadly short of their highest achievement," a figure worthy both of the "predominantly unfavourable" judgments to which he has been subject, as well as a "qualified approval" (107). In his 1974 article "James I and the Historians: Toward a Reconsideration," Marc L. Schwarz afforded James further qualified approval, lauding his handling of ecclesiastical and diplomatic matters, while condemning his penchant for favourites and his failure to grasp the economic realities of England during his reign (133). Maurice Lee Jr, with the title of his 1984 article "James I and the Historians: Not a Bad King After All?," succinctly expressed the changing tenor of James's reputation; the litotes, followed by the question mark at the end, exhibits a

moderation and tentativeness not often found in earlier partisan examinations of James's rule. And in a simple but memorable assessment, J.P. Kenyon resolved the differences between James's critics and supporters by portraying James as a king who embodied *both* the admirable and contemptible traits which others have detected in him: "James I was a strange medley of opposites; he was a fool in some sense, but in others a man of deep wisdom" (100).³ As a dedicated proponent of the *via media* throughout his life, James would be quite comfortable with this more balanced—and probably more truthful—representation of his kingship.

My study, *"This Prince Most Rare,"* follows in the vein opened by the revisionist historians and widened by Wormald, for it makes one king out of two on a couple of levels. For one thing, it seeks to reconcile some of the paradoxes inherent in James, portraying him unsentimentally but sensitively as a monarch who could be, among other things, homely yet cultured and remarkably well-educated, lazy yet ambitious, imprudent yet wise, and wildly impractical yet not without some sense of pragmatism. More importantly, however, it maintains a textual focus, examining representations both of and by James as it considers him a paradoxical artist-king who was created by texts at the same time that he himself created other texts. In short, my study embraces the paradoxes inherent in James's character and kingships as a means of delineating the development and execution of his unique artistic style and practice of rule. In reconciling the divergent perspectives on and aspects of James's character and artistic and literary involvement, *"This Prince Most Rare"* uses as a model one of the earliest, most succinct, and most accurate characterisations of him: that of Henri IV of France, who undoubtedly saw in James much of the political *savoir faire* for which he himself was known, and who perceptively described James as "the wisest fool in Christendom" (McElwee 39).

Expanding on Wormald's work, my study makes one king of two with its examination of how James used his authorship and patronage of texts to construct one life of rule as both James VI and I, rather than as either James VI of Scotland or James I of England

alone. While many historians such as Gardiner and literary critics such as Stephen Greenblatt have devoted large portions of their work to the Jacobean period, they have virtually ignored James's rule and the monarchical texts he both engaged with and created in Scotland. Basically, they have divided one king into two, placing a firm division between what they evidently see as the mutually exclusive rules of a major English monarch and a minor Scottish one.⁴ Of course, Gardiner and Greenblatt have had a great deal of assistance in strengthening this division, for a number of other scholars have chosen to minimise the influence of James's Scottish reign upon his English one. Malcolm Smuts, for example, disregarding the unique style of kingship which James developed as king of Scotland, argues that in the English context "James's Scottish experience had done little to prepare him to fulfill the sort of public role that Elizabeth had defined" (*Origins* 27). Alan G.R. Smith follows a similar line of argument, stating that "the difficulties which faced [James] in his new kingdom in 1603 were serious and . . . some of them were not the kind of problems which could be adequately dealt with on the basis of his Scottish experiences" (7). Smith may be right to some extent, since because of its different Parliamentary system, England was a more politically complex nation to govern than Scotland, and James was bound to encounter challenges in England which he had not had to face in Scotland. Smith overstates the case, however, when he says that "Scotland was a poor and unimportant kingdom, well out of the mainstream of European politics" and as a result, "much of James's experience in Scotland hindered rather than helped" him as he sought to consolidate his position as political, religious, and diplomatic head of his new kingdom (8). By downplaying the connections between James's Scottish and English rules and by focusing their attention primarily on his kingship in England, scholars like Smuts and Smith examine James I at the expense of James VI, and in effect divide James VI and I into two kings.

Other scholars, however, do not make such a sharp distinction; while not implying that James's transition from King of Scotland to King of England in 1603 was an

absolutely seamless one, they do nonetheless believe that there are a number of meaningful connections between the two reigns. Caroline Bingham, for one, in her companion volumes *James VI of Scotland* and *James I of England*, provides quite a balanced account of James's two reigns, devoting equal study to both rules. In general, she contends that James's English rule was highly dependent upon his Scottish experience, for by the time he became King of England in 1603 at age 37, he had served a sort of "apprenticeship" as King of Scotland, growing into majority rule while gaining gradual control of one of the most unruly nations in Europe. At a number of points in these works, Bingham argues that James's political policy in England regarding issues such as the episcopacy and diplomacy often relied on skills he had honed in Scotland. Jenny Wormald agrees with Bingham, and does an even more complete job of connecting the two reigns of James, as is evident simply from the titles of two of her articles: "The High Road From Scotland: One King, Two Kingdoms" and "James VI and I: Two Kings or One?" Wormald believes that the politics of James's Scottish kingship was crucial to his subsequent rule in England, and is of the opinion that "it may have been a very great advantage" for James to have served out a sort of political apprenticeship in Scotland before his accession to the English throne ("Two" 209). She even goes so far as to state that James's reliance on the lessons he learned in Scotland allowed him to invest England with more religious and political stability than either Charles I or even Elizabeth I had done:

By trying to transmit his Scottish style of kingship to the English throne he defused problems within the church and state, and thereby presided over a kingdom probably more stable than his predecessor had left, and certainly than his successor was to rule. (209)

In short, Wormald believes that the relationship between James's Scottish and English reigns in matters of both Church and State "has been seriously undervalued" (204). My

dissertation follows her example by again making one king out of two in examining James's English political policy not in isolation, but in light of its Scottish precursor.

While Wormald examines how James's political policy in England was heavily reliant upon his previous experience in Scotland, she herself seriously undervalues an important aspect of James's political practice which connects the two reigns and which forms the primary focus of this study: how the text informed and articulated his vision of his authority both in Scotland and in England. In examining James's purely "political" rather than his literary practices and thereby neglecting the role which the text played in both of his kingships, Wormald is not alone, for few have made any meaningful connection between James's authorship and his political development in both Scotland and England. Kevin Sharpe, for example, discusses the interrelatedness of literature and monarchical policy in early Stuart England, but ignores any connection to James's roles as reader, patron and poet in Scotland.⁵ Conversely, in her book *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI*, Helena Mennie Shire examines both James's poetry and that of the poets whom he patronised, but limits herself merely to a study of Scotland, while ignoring James's literary and political activities as James I of England. And even Stephen Greenblatt and Jonathan Goldberg, though they pride themselves on finding meaningful relationships between texts and politics in the Elizabethan and Stuart periods, have all but ignored James's literary involvement during his Scottish reign and its possible foreshadowing of his style of government in England.⁶ As a study of Jacobean literature and politics, *"This Prince Most Rare"* attempts to rectify some of these deficiencies by examining how the text helped James envision and communicate his divine-right authority, originally during his literary and political "apprenticeship" in Scotland, and later during the early period of his English rule.

During the early, unstable periods of both reigns, James consolidated his kingship in many practical, overtly "political" ways. In his observations on absolutist kingship, Alvin Kernan makes a statement about Renaissance European monarchs that is equally

applicable to James: "The big kings had to bend every effort to authenticate their right to rule, as well as to establish *de facto* authority" (90). Kernan goes on to say that this general monarchical struggle to consolidate authority "was fought in privy councils, in religious convocations, in law courts, and in parliaments, as well as on the battlefields" (90), and while this is obviously an oversimplification, it serves as a concise summary of some of the arenas in which James communicated his authority in both Scotland and England. Perhaps James did not defend his authority on the battlefield during either reign (as his personal motto—*Beati Pacifici*—indicates, he saw peacemaking as a powerful and divinely sanctioned demonstration of authority), but at numerous points in both Scotland and England, he attempted to consolidate his kingship through control of his Privy Councils, the Church, the courts, and Parliaments.

There is another less obviously political yet nonetheless significant method of solidifying monarchical authority which Kernan neglects to mention: through the printed text. Gardiner, in a rare moment of praise for James, states that "his own ideas were unusually shrewd" (5: 315), and this observation certainly seems true of James's engagement with literature where the issue of his royal authority was concerned. In literature, just as in other aspects of his kingships such as his negotiations with Elizabeth I regarding his possible succession, James was the stereotypical "canny Scot," often relying on subtlety and implication—the covert rather than the overt—to articulate and solidify his monarchical position. He was especially shrewd in his understanding of the ways in which literary content and media—apparently aesthetic rather than political entities—could potentially complement more overtly "pragmatic" political means of developing and implementing ideas of his authority in both Scotland and England. By using the content of a work of literature to communicate a political message, James was on the most basic level a propagandist, but his political use of the text in his two kingdoms was more subtle than simply the manipulation of a work's content: his authorship implied that his divine ordination as king was complemented by his divine

inspiration as writer. With his patronage and repression of works, James believed that he demonstrated that he ruled over the literary realm with the same mediating authority which he wielded in his political and religious ones. And in perhaps his most unconventional use of the text for political purposes, he actually derived some elements of his monarchical theory from his active reading, embracing some texts and rejecting others as he developed his own ideas of what kingship entailed. In short, James was a sort of artist-king who used the content and media of ecclesiastical, political, poetic, and philosophical texts to develop and articulate his political policy and potentially consolidate his authority as divine-right monarch in two kingdoms

Although being an author and patron might seem an ethereal rather than a pragmatic means of consolidating kingship, a number of scholars agree with James that if the pen is not mightier than the sword, it can at least complement it. Kevin Sharpe argues that in Tudor England, the exercise of monarchical power relied primarily on the display of that power rather than on actual physical force. He says that since England had no standing army at the time, "the power of the crown and state depended largely upon its representation of authority" rather than on blunt acts of political or military might. He goes on to say that there was such an "inextricable interrelationship of discourse and power" that literary and social discourses and representations of authority were "themselves acts of authority" ("Writ" 117). This interrelationship between monarchical power and discourse or display was even more pervasive in James's reigns than it was in those of the Tudors, largely because James was not only an active patron, but was also a published author, which was a rarity among European monarchs before or since. Alvin Kernan has said that during the Renaissance, "nowhere were the ideological wars more fierce . . . than on the printed page" (90), and James certainly participated more in these wars than in the ones in the Church, in Parliament, or even on the battlefield. As a materially published authority, he consolidated his monarchical authority in the political and image-driven arena of literature.

My dissertation explores the unique monarchical position that James occupied near the centre of the print explosion in Renaissance Scotland and England. Although Elizabeth I and Charles I relied heavily upon the visual image—particularly in their definitive portraits—to communicate their monarchical images, James perceived and exploited the power of the spoken and written word in order to define and articulate his kingly authority in both countries. His engagement with written texts in his studies, his dialogue with Andrew and James Melville as ideological texts, his patronage of literary works, and his authorship of poetical, political, and religious works in Scotland—all were important means of developing a monarchical authority which he extended to England through his most significant literary undertaking, the King James Bible. Disregarding the traditional historicist premise that a dominant “world view” served as a unified backdrop which necessarily and monologically informed the production of literature, this study follows the New Historicist tack of assuming that there is no one historical or literary “truth,” but rather, *truths*.⁷ In addition, *“This Prince Most Rare”* seeks to dissolve or at least blur the boundaries between historical or political context and literary artefact. This study is neither a uniquely “historical” nor a uniquely “literary” one, but is instead a combination of the two—a wide-ranging interdisciplinary project which intrinsically links the study of political and religious tracts with historical events in an exploration of the contribution literature made to James’s kingships. This study follows the New Historicist strategy of decompartmentalising history and literature as subjects of study, while also refiguring the boundary between the two in its general conception of the relationship between literature and politics in the Renaissance period. Instead of viewing this relationship as a stable one in which a monological historical background informed a foregrounded literature at every turn, New Historicist inquiry prefers to eliminate the background/foreground distinction as completely as possible, considering literature and history to be so embedded in each other and commingled as to be virtually indistinguishable. As a result, literary texts are both historical artefacts and historically

determined works, and histories are both comprised of and passed down through texts, and are thus almost infinitely interpretable. Thus, one might speak in chiasmic terms of the "historicity of texts and the textuality of history." With its wide-ranging literary and historical exploration of James's kingships, this study is an embodiment of this chiasmus. In using an interdisciplinary approach to explore the connections between a large number of literary works and the cultural and political practices of monarchy, this dissertation seeks to demonstrate the interrelatedness of literature and political history.

This study, however, does not limit itself to considering the connection between Renaissance politics and literature to be a one-way relationship where literature was politically generated; rather, its specific formulation of the interrelatedness between literature and political history is a dynamic view in which literature and political ideology were developmentally dependent upon each other. While one focus of this study examines the various means through which literature, functioning as propaganda, influenced political thought in target audiences in the early years of James's two reigns, another focus involves a more subtle but dynamic means through which Jacobean literature influenced or even created views of politics at the source. This study not only examines the politicisation of aesthetics—the various ways in which monarchical ideology pervaded art and literature and thus came into contact with its audience—but also examines the aestheticisation of politics—the ways in which literature actually helped shape the political ideology at the source by shaping and consolidating the thought of the monarch. In this conception of the dynamic relationship of literature and politics where the two interanimate each other, literature can be a creative source for political ideology and policy, not merely a conventional propagandist medium for their expression. In short, this study examines what Jonathan Goldberg calls "the discourse of power and the power of discourse" (18) which connects Jacobean literature with political theory and practice. While it examines the conventional propagandist discourse of power which pervaded a number of works and potentially enabled them to affirm or consolidate

James's monarchical power, it also explores the power of discourse which enabled other works to develop and shape that monarchical power. In general, this dissertation considers the link between politics and the arts in the Jacobean period to have been more than a one-way relationship where politics simply influenced literature. The engagement between literature and politics was a dynamic one in which literature could potentially influence monarchical policy and act as a political *determiner* as well as something politically *determined*.

In James's unique view, the author was supposed to advise the monarch by providing constructive criticism through his works, for while "Godly kings were the almighty's lieutenants," it was also true that by the very nature of their occupation, "divine poets . . . were Nature's counsellors" who were to provide political advice to the monarch (Sharpe, "Writ" 128-9). Through their writings, a number of figures engaged in this cultural dialogue with James, and in doing so, lent a textual element to his theory of divine-right kingship. As a youth in Scotland, for instance, James's constant exposure to literature and his involvement in its creation served as a sort of literary apprenticeship for political rule. Many of the works which he read under the tutelage of George Buchanan helped develop his unique style of mediating divine-right kingship, and his intertextual dialogue with Andrew and James Melville regarding the episcopacy helped forge his monarchical identity as an adjudicating but merciful king able to engage constructively with his subjects. As well, involvement in his poetic circle during the 1580s taught him lessons in patronage, mediation, order, divinity, and authorship which he would later implement in both kingdoms as the creator of a number of political texts, especially the King James Bible. My dissertation mediates between the two current and prevalent historicist paradigms generally grouped under the designations of American New Historicism and British Cultural Materialism; it explores the dialogical relationship between literature and politics, where obedience co-exists with dissidence, and support allies itself with subversion. Herein, a literary figure might engage in a critical dialogue with the

monarch, reflecting the well-known trope that the arts are inherently political and politics is inherently artistic. Through examining James's engagement with and authorship of a wide variety of literary texts during both reigns, this study lends an element of specificity to Jonathan Goldberg's general statement that literature and politics "are mutually constitutive" to the extent that "society shapes and is shaped by the possibilities in its language and discursive practices" (xi).

Part of how this dissertation refigures the general relationship between politics and the arts in the Jacobean period grows out of its relation to Stephen Greenblatt's ideas of "self-fashioning." In his book *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, Greenblatt argues that through their writing, a number of early modern figures created authoritative literary selves to establish or promote order at a personal or political level. In some respects, James seems to have performed a literary act of empowerment similar to that which Greenblatt espouses when he states that the process of self-fashioning "involves submission to an absolute power or authority situated at least partially outside the self" (*Self-Fashioning* 9). In his writings such as *Basilicon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, James repeatedly defers to godly authority, claiming that as a divine-right monarch he is God's representative on earth, a divinely ordained figure who occupies the intermediary position between God and humans. Greenblatt also claims that "self-fashioning is achieved in relation to something perceived as alien, strange, or hostile," an "other" representing chaos or disorder which "must be discovered or invented in order to be attacked and destroyed" in the creation of a personal order (*Self-Fashioning* 9). A number of examples exist of James's defining himself and his kingship negatively against figures he perceived as embodying disorder, or at the very least, another type of order. His rejection of many of Buchanan's teachings, his remonstrations against Andrew Melville, his condemnation of witchcraft in the *Daemonologie*—all were acts of self-fashioning in which James defined himself not positively by an affiliation with another, but negatively by the repudiation of *an other*. In

general, this dissertation follows Greenblatt's lead by exploring how James used written texts, and even bodily ones, to define himself both positively and negatively in light of other figures.

Yet this study differs from Greenblatt's most significantly in its examination of the process and various media by which James developed and expressed his version of political order. Greenblatt states that true power exists in having "the ability to impose one's fictions upon the world" (*Self-Fashioning* 13), and to some extent this seems to be true, in that convincing or forcing others to believe or participate in an ideology immediately lends it authority and credibility. His statement, however, presupposes that a government or even an individual has a fixed, almost pre-existing "fiction" or ideology which is expressed and enforced through the act of writing. In his formulation, the personal or political "self" is fashioned in large part through a sort of propagandist act in which the medium and content of a work convey some manner of validating ideology to a target audience. Greenblatt's argument implies that literature can potentially be a political determiner, but only because it is infused with a pre-existing ideology of whose origins he takes little account. In Greenblatt's theorised process of self-fashioning, literature is a contributing factor in the creation of personal and political order only because it carries an already-formed ideological message of order and authority in the very act of writing and in the content which it conveys. This dissertation, however, explores a dynamic interaction of art and politics in which literature might act as a vehicle for the expression of a pre-existing ideology but also acts as a creative force in the development of that political thought.

I refuse to relegate literature to the role of propagandist tool, but instead consider it as a force capable of shaping as well as communicating specific ideas of order. My study extends current historicist explorations of the Jacobean period by considering how texts infused, developed, and articulated James's political program over the span of both of his reigns to the extent that Jacobean art and politics were so commingled as to be virtually

indistinguishable. In general, then, this dissertation expands on the New Historicist idea of Renaissance self-fashioning by examining how in the early years of each of his reigns, James constantly fashioned his political self in large part through his involvement in literature, where his functions as audience, patron, and author helped him not just to articulate and consolidate but also develop for himself one unified and self-fashioned conception of the monarch as a powerful mediator, creative ordering force, and divine-right authority.

Of course, viewing James as both a patron and an author deliberately articulating monarchical ideologies to his subjects is problematic, for it presupposes both political intent and direct literary involvement—intentions and involvements which are not always easy to demonstrate. James's personal interest in literature because of its ability to consolidate political power was a singular but not entirely original one, for it had a number of artistic precedents—or at least analogues—both on the Continent and in England. Malcolm Smuts, for example, emphasises the derivative nature of James's general artistic patronage by noting that the styles of visual art which James (and later, his son Charles) used in the proliferation of their royal images were based mainly on European models ("Political Failure" 165). The fact that such models existed for James demonstrates that his engagement with the text for political purposes was deliberate.

Other scholars have isolated more specific instances of English and European monarchical patronage of the arts that help illuminate James's artistic and political intentions. Dale Hoak, for one, examines the artistic enterprises of an English figure who prefigures James genealogically: Henry VII, his great-great-grandfather. Curiously, James was interred in Henry VII's tomb in Westminster Abbey, creating a symbolic link between the two monarchs, but a more specific connection between them exists with respect to their methods of consolidating their authority near the beginning of their reigns. Hoak argues that Henry VII's well-documented effort to establish the legitimacy of his authority had "artistic manifestations" as well as political ones (65). He cites

numerous examples of these manifestations, tracing representations of the first Tudor king as an imperial monarch as they appeared "in many different officially sponsored or royally generated media" (77) such as coins and portraits. Peter Burke argues that a similar sort of deliberate monarchical use of the arts to consolidate political power took place in France decades after James's death. In his book *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, which he calls "a case-study of the relations between art and power" (2), he demonstrates that in the latter half of the seventeenth century, Louis XIV took a personal hand in the propagation of his own image, choosing between various artistic projects, and even commissioning works for the purpose of supporting his own personal rule (59). With their use of premeditated artistic programs to articulate ideologies of political authority both before and after James's reigns, both Henry VII and Louis XIV demonstrate that the patronage of artistic works for political gain was both a deliberate and relatively common monarchical practice. One can even today see many similar examples of James's political use of a variety of artistic media: the numerous portraits of himself which he commissioned in both reigns; the statue he had erected at Oxford University which depicts him presenting his published works to the University and to Fame; the Banqueting House at Whitehall which stands as a model of classical order and elegance. But James's involvement in the arts differed slightly from that of Henry VII and Louis XIV—and even from that of Elizabeth I and his son Charles I—since he concerned himself primarily with using the printed text as a means of both defining and articulating his monarchical authority. By engaging with, commissioning, and creating texts, he was able to apply the literary ideas of divine ordination, mediation, and authorship to his developing theory of monarchy.

That is not to say that James was always directly involved in the patronage and creation of literary works for political gain, for often his hand was only nominally present. Malcolm Smuts argues against James's direct and frequent involvement in artistic patronage for either altruistic or political ends, saying that "the early Stuarts never

developed a well-organized program of cultural patronage or an official cultural philosophy" (*Origins* 7). In his opinion, James's general artistic patronage did not revolve around any coherent monarchical themes, unlike Elizabeth's, which propagated imperial ideas through works such as Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, and which focused on the concept of divine right with John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (18-21), a work in which James was well-versed. Smuts seems to overstate the chaotic nature of early Stuart patronage, however. James's patronage of the arts in general might not always have been as organised and effective as it could have been, since artistic or cultural patronage in the Renaissance "rarely entailed a relationship of complete dependence" (61) between an author and patron. But his engagement with literary texts was an ongoing practice focused around the portrayal—and development—of himself as engager, mediator, creator, and merciful adjudicator.

While James may not have been a completely masterful artistic patron in general, he had a pronounced interest in literature and what it could do for his kingship at certain times, so that in many cases, his authorship or patronage of a work might have been at worst a convenient but powerfully conveyed fiction. For instance, in England, "the noblemen and gentry who constituted the political nation had a vested interest in upholding the royal authority since it was the linchpin of the social order from which they benefited" (Lockyer 253). It is entirely possible, then, that some of James's nobles commissioned works which espoused monarchical authority since their own prestige, wealth, and power in many cases depended on that of the king. And while James might not have been directly involved in these acts of literary patronage, he certainly must have found them useful as expressions of his ostensible mastery over the artistic world. Like other monarchs, James may have made use of the contributions of others to his own written works in both Scotland and England as well, for saying that he was the author of his texts in the sense of being the sole writer might overstate the case. In the late 1640s,

John Gauden wrote the majority of the *Eikon Basilike*, even though the work was generally attributed to Charles I. The question of actual authorship is moot, however, the point was that Charles was to appear to have written the book, and because this seemed to be the case, his place as a martyr was all but assured. Similarly, one could argue that James did not always do all of the writing for which he took credit. Alan G.R. Smith says that James was often content to "leave to others the donkey work involved in his writings," with the result that "his books certainly contained a good deal less of his own work than he wished the world to believe" (4). Smith's assertion may not be entirely accurate, for no direct evidence exists to demonstrate with any certainty that James did not compose his own texts, and as a highly educated monarch with a proven linguistic facility, he was certainly capable of doing so. The important part of Smith's statement, however, is that James "wished the world to believe" that he was the author of his works, for regardless of whether or not he actually wrote them, it was in his best interest for people to think that he had, for in implying his mastery over the creative literary realm, his authorship mirrored and reinforced his role as author of the nation. And so in many cases, when it is not clear if James was involved in the patronage or authorship of a work directly, at the behest of others, or by happy accident, the importance lies not in demonstrating either his definite involvement or lack thereof; instead, it lies in understanding why he failed to disabuse others of the notion that he was a powerful patron or author on his own.

One must not, of course, overestimate James's ability to consolidate his divine-right rule through texts which he patronised and authored, for this was certainly not the only means he used to legitimise his kingships. But in studying how James articulated and consolidated his power in the early parts of both his Scottish and English reigns, one must take into account not only his pragmatic "political" means of solidifying his authority through institutions such as Parliament or the Privy Council. One must also consider his textual and cultural ones, where he used the politics of art, and especially the

artistry of politics, to achieve a pragmatic political end: the development, communication, and implementation of his brand of divine-right kingly authority.

In examining how James both developed and communicated this authority on one of the "minor" stages of the political theatre—in works of art and literature—this dissertation makes close reciprocal connections between politics and the arts. Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker note that even New Historicist scholars who attempt to draw meaningful connections between the Renaissance political and literary worlds tend to "contrast the aesthetic and the political" (2) by downplaying the ways in which the arts could influence political thought or ideology at the source. Michael McKeon argues that the aesthetic and the political are two discourses which were intimately conjoined in the early seventeenth century and thus should be studied as such today (36). This dissertation re-establishes such a conjunction. As a study which explores the ways in which the content, medium, and circumstances of production of a wide variety of texts shaped and articulated James's divine-right monarchical ideology, it is a literary history in the purest sense of the term—not a history of literature as such, but rather an historical study with a specific focus on literature's functions as both political determined and political determiner in the early Jacobean period.⁸

While James ruled as James VI of Scotland from 1567 to 1625 and as James I of England from 1603 to 1625, for the most part this dissertation focuses on works from the early years of both reigns, roughly covering the periods from the late 1570s to the late 1590s in Scotland, and from 1603 to the 1611 publication of the King James Bible in England. In examining the early periods of James's two rules, it explores how literature functioned as both a formative influence upon his view of kingship and a means of articulating this authority when his kingships, both in theory and in practice, were not on completely solid ground. Referring to the early years of James's kingship in England, Malcolm Smuts says that "frequently cultural developments within the Jacobean court reflected the uncertainties of a period when old values were breaking down and new ones

had not yet fully emerged to take their place" (*Origins* 192). This statement is equally true of the early Jacobean period in Scotland; as James grew out of his minority into a position of practical authority, he consolidated his authority and stabilised the nation's chaotic political situation by relying in part upon the ideas of order, mediation, and divine-right kingship which literature could convey both to him and to a larger political audience. His rule in England was an extrapolation of sorts upon the textual consolidation of kingship which he had effected in Scotland. After a Scottish literary "apprenticeship" in which his reading, patronage, and authorship of texts both shaped and articulated his monarchical authority as mediator, creator, and divine ruler, with the 1616 publication of his *Workes* and especially the 1611 publication of the King James Bible he *authorised* master works which formally negotiated his settlement into a similar position of power in his new English kingdom. In short, this dissertation contributes to the ongoing reassessment of James's kingships by examining the literary underpinning common to both: James's use of the text as formative influence and propagandist vehicle in England—an exploitation of the dynamic relationship between Renaissance literature and politics by which he consolidated his monarchical authority—was an inevitable extension of his defining Scottish literary experience.

Caroline Bingham quite nicely sums up the predicament facing James during the early years of both of his reigns: "James had spent his early life in striving to impose order upon his turbulent inheritance, and his middle years in attempting to respond intelligently to the challenge of an unknown kingdom" (*James I* 175). In both cases, his response was to impose order at least partly through textual means. In Scotland, for instance, his interpretation, patronage, and even writing of literature throughout much of his reign served as a sort of political apprenticeship during which he galvanised and articulated his vision of the monarch as a divine, ordering, fatherly, and mediating authority. And upon his accession to the throne of England, James followed the precedent he had set for himself in Scotland by continuing his political dialogue with the Melvilles, republishing

key texts of his own, and ultimately, commissioning and overseeing the translation of the King James Bible, a text which remains the most enduring testament to the authority which his literary involvement afforded him as mediator, divine-right monarch, and controller of God's Word. In general, then, this dissertation examines how James's multifaceted use of literature to consolidate his political rule in Scotland served as a sort of apprenticeship for his kingship in England. By considering his intense engagement with a variety of texts, it explores how he both developed and articulated an authoritative divine-right monarchical vision as part of his effort to establish himself as a powerful political force during his tenuous early years in both kingdoms.

Notes.

¹This quotation of James's is taken from page 32 of volume two of S.R. Gardiner's *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1883). Gardiner's source is the Hatfield MS.

²For a considerably more detailed examination of some of the early historical representations of James, see R.C. Richardson's *The Debate on the English Revolution Revisited* (London: Methuen, 1977).

³Suzanne Collier's article "Recent Studies in James VI and I" (*English Literary Renaissance* 23.3 (Autumn 1993): 509-19) provides a nice summary of some of the more recent appraisals of James's person, works, and kingships.

⁴In *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1980), for instance, Greenblatt examines figures such as Edmund Spenser, Christopher Marlowe, and even William Shakespeare, who wrote during the time of James's Scottish reign. Greenblatt, however, considers them only in an English context as Elizabethan figures, and neglects any study of James's actual contemporaries in Scotland. In his ten-volume *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1883), S.R. Gardiner is similarly derelict in his treatment of James's Scottish kingship; given the sheer enormity of his discussion of early Stuart England, however, his negligence is excusable.

⁵See, for instance, Sharpe's book *Politics and Ideas in Early Stuart England* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1989) and the volume which he edited with Peter Lake entitled *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1993).

Neither draws any meaningful connection between James's Scottish and English rules.

⁶Greenblatt's neglect of Scottish affairs has already been noted, but Goldberg exhibits a similar bias in *James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne, and Their Contemporaries* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1989), a study which would perhaps have reflected James's style of rule more accurately had it been titled *James VI and I and the Politics of Literature*.

⁷In their general technique and lack of conclusiveness, the New Historicists define themselves against the approach of "old historicist" scholars such as Arthur Lovejoy and E.M.W. Tillyard, whose interest lay in exposing monological, unifying truth with respect to both history and its blind complement, literature.

⁸This literal interpretation of the term "literary history" differs from the various formulations David Perkins puts forward in his book *Is Literary History Possible?* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1992). In this work, Perkins summarises many past literary histories which relied on approaches such as narrative history, classification, and encyclopaedic organisation. This dissertation, on the other hand, is simply an historical study using literature as its guiding principle rather than any sort of attempt to chronicle the development of literature over time.

Chapter 1. "Teaching Him His Office"¹: James VI of Scotland and the Education of Christian Princes

In his 1665 *Life of Mr. Richard Hooker*, Izaak Walton states that at the time of Hooker's birth in 1554 (and presumably at the time of James VI's birth in 1566), "children were less pregnant, less confident, and more malleable, than in this wiser, but not better, age" (7). Although Walton fails to account for this perceived transition in early childhood development over the preceding century, the example of the young James VI must have influenced any changing popular perception of the impressionability of children. In his political education, for instance, James merged perceptions of a born, essential king and a constructed, contingent one, and was thus a peculiar combination of both "malleable" and "pregnant." As an orphaned minority monarch, he was at the intellectual, religious, and even physical mercy of his preceptors, George Buchanan and Peter Young, who took it upon themselves to impress upon the young king the fact that he was a constructed rather than a divinely ordained king. James proved to be a "malleable" student who was capable of being moulded intellectually, for many of the basic teachings which they presented to him--the authority of the mediator, the power of the author, the role of the monarch as moral exemplar, and the general tenets of Protestantism--stayed with him to some extent throughout his life. His own childhood statement regarding the rigours of his education at the hands of Buchanan and Young--"Thay gar me speik latin ar I could speik Scotis" ("Apothegmata Regis" lxxii)--succinctly conveys the idea that he was a malleable and constructed king who was offered little choice in the direction of his own early intellectual and political development.

Yet James's statement conveys something more than just his helplessness in the face of his tutors. His very ability to distance himself from his gruelling education and

comment wryly upon its ironies characterises him as "pregnant" in the contemporary psychological sense of being perceptive and capable of original, independent thought. James Melville further supports the idea that the young James was not simply an impressionable, externally constructed king, since he records that the eight-year-old king was "the sweetest sight in Europe that day, for strange and extraordinary gifts of ingyne, judgment, memory, and langage" (48). In addition, with respect to specific elements of religion and the nature of monarchical authority, James demonstrated that he was a "pregnant" or independent king by rejecting some of his tutors' teachings and defining himself in opposition to them, a rejection which culminated in 1584 with his Parliamentary condemnation of Buchanan's *Rerum Scotticarum Historia* and *De Jure Regni Apud Scotos*. Through his education, James became the embodiment of a contradiction, for as a monarch with "extraordinary gifts of ingyne" who was born into the Stuart line yet also built by a gruelling education "fit for a king," he also represented a tenuous balance between the opposing forces of divinely ordained hereditary succession and educated kingship.

This contradiction in James as a "malleable" but "pregnant" authority grew out of his reconciliation of the many conflicting textual forces with which he engaged as a minority ruler. Given James's complex relationship with George Buchanan and the Presbyterian minister Andrew Melville, and his later political practice and writings in which he communicated his concept of kingship, one can roughly gauge the young monarch's mixed response to the texts which he encountered and trace the origins of much of his political thought. The sheer magnitude of the library holdings James's tutors acquired for him in the first decade of his life—a collection of roughly 600 books which likely constituted the largest private library in Scotland at the time (Bingham, *James VI* 40)—makes a thorough analysis of what he gleaned from its contents beyond the scope of this study. Nonetheless, a cursory glance at some of the more notable titles reveals a great deal about his course of study. Works such as Jean Calvin's *Institutes of the*

Christian Religion and John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, for example, probably taught him valuable lessons in Protestant doctrine and the dangers of tolerating religious extremism, but their conceptions of a limited royal authority caused him to look elsewhere for more positive examples of monarchical power and duty. Rejecting aspects of these texts as well as some of the teachings and writings of Buchanan himself, James turned to works such as Guillaume Budé's *Livre de l'Institution du Prince* and Julius Caesar's *Commentaries* to help develop and reinforce his own ideas of kingship. As a youth, James combined "malleability" and "pregnancy" by defining his kingship through a large number of written political and religious texts available soon after the advent of printing in Europe. Two works in particular—Roger Ascham's *The Scholemaster* and Desiderius Erasmus' *The Education of a Christian Prince*—neatly encapsulate many of the lessons on moderation, mediation, morality, and the nature of kingship which Buchanan and Young sought to instil in him through his reading. These two signal works proved to be the young James's most fundamental positive and negative textual influences, and as such, receive special attention in this chapter. But James's mixed response to his literary education does not render him simply an example of what Walton saw as the growing independence of the early modern child. Instead, his complicated engagement with a large number of texts makes him a monarch who realised the degree to which written texts could develop his own political and religious policies, and who as author, translator, patron, and censor, would ultimately exploit this knowledge of the power of the written word—and of the person who controls its dissemination—to influence the political thought of others.

Alvin Kernan maintains that James's early interaction with the written teachings of others was so uniquely intimate that more than any other European monarch, James was a "Gutenberg man whose consciousness had been formed in large part by and who worked out his ideas in print" (194). A brief consideration of the educations provided for James's monarchical predecessors bears out Kernan's argument. Henry VIII, for

instance, despite being what A.F. Pollard calls the first English example of a monarch educated in the Renaissance humanist fashion (15), was neither born nor educated to be king. His elder brother Arthur, as the heir to the throne, received a first-rate monarchical education, complete with gruelling studies in classical literature and history. At the time of his death, Arthur had studied, among other things, the literature of Homer, Ovid, Virgil, and Terence, and the political histories of Thucydides, Tacitus, Livy, and Julius Caesar (Scarisbrick 5). By contrast, Henry, as the second son who became heir to the throne only at age ten upon Arthur's death, received an education which one would hardly call second-rate, but which nonetheless did not have the same textual and political focus as his older brother's. A century after Henry VIII's death, Lord Edward Herbert would write that Henry VII had intended for his second son to ascend to the see of Canterbury, and consequently educated him in a manner more ecclesiastical than political, although J.J. Scarisbrick argues that there is no real evidence for this (4-5). Of course, if Henry's education was ecclesiastical in focus, that certainly does not mean that it was monastic. His primary tutor, the playwright John Skelton, ensured that the young prince had a broad noble education such as Castiglione had suggested in his *Courtier*, one which included physical activity and the study of courtly manners, literature, languages, and music, the latter of which Henry particularly relished. In general, however, for the first part of his life Henry was educated in a manner befitting a second son whose prospective role was as either a courtier or cleric, and not king; as a result, although his education left him well-versed in many of the monarchical social graces, it left him also "unseasoned and untrained in the exacting art of kingship" (6).

Nor was Henry's daughter Mary trained as a future monarch from birth. Since mediaeval times, education of the female English nobility had generally been "a form of social apprenticeship" designed to help young noblewomen acquire social graces rather than any degree of political knowledge or experience in governance (Jewell 53), and by Mary's time, this was still largely the case. Although certain members of the nobility

such as Sir Thomas More and Henry VIII might broaden their daughters' educational horizons, the practice of primogeniture ensured that humanist education for women in early modern England was intended "to make them learned wives, intellectual companions to their husbands and wise teachers of their children, enriching the home with music and conversation" (59). The humanist Desiderius Erasmus, for example, declared that a noblewoman should enrich the nation in the home rather than in government. His 1516 instructional manual, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, is based on "the case of hereditary succession of princes" (140), and does not entertain the idea that a woman might become a "Christian Prince," much less need to be educated as one. Although the idea of female succession was hotly contested in both Mary and Elizabeth's cases, Salic law prohibiting women from ascending to the throne did not exist in England, and Mary could theoretically succeed Henry as monarch. Her importance, though, did not lie in her position as potential monarch so much as in her significance as a "token of hope" that Henry and Catherine's marriage could produce a male heir who would supersede her in the line of succession (Loades 14). Since she was not the focus of Henry's dynastic ambitions, he remained only "spasmodically interested" in her education, and left its supervision to Catherine and the tutors whom she selected (31).

As a result, although Mary received a well-rounded education typical of a young English noblewoman, D.M. Loades says that it would be "an exaggeration to say that Catherine brought Mary up to be a ruler" (33). Her monarchical education was more ornamental than fundamental in its scope and intensity. Henry's desire for a male heir ensured that prior to 1534, Mary was educated as a sort of last resort whose duty was to enrich the throne not through her direct political involvement, but instead by providing pleasant and interesting company for a husband who in practice would hold the reins of government. Juan Luis Vives, the Spanish humanist whom Catherine chose to supervise Mary's education, wrote in his 1523 treatise *The Instruction of a Christian Woman* that a noblewoman's education should focus not on political training, but rather on cultivation

of "good manners" (106). For Mary specifically, he recommended that such cultivation be complemented by a minimal amount of textual study; the Bible and Erasmus' secular works would provide her with ethical training, and Thomas More's *Utopia* would give her a basic knowledge of Latin (Prescott 26). By 1553, Mary would become queen by default rather than by design, and her education—courtly rather than overtly text-based and political—reflected her ornamental rather than political preparation.

To some extent the same is true of Elizabeth I, for her education, like Mary's, was not focused on preparing her for monarchical rule. Although the 1534 First Act of Succession had declared Mary illegitimate and made the year-old Elizabeth the rightful heir to the throne, within two years, the 1536 Second Act of Succession bastardised Elizabeth and made her infant half-brother Edward the new heir. Since Elizabeth's early education began when she was five, she had effectively been eliminated from the succession before her formal schooling—of which "little or nothing is known" before 1544—had even begun (Plowden 68). As a result, her education was probably second-rate in both scope and intensity, befitting an illegitimate noblewoman of the time rather than a future monarch. In 1544, several events changed the direction of Elizabeth's schooling. For one thing, the Third Act of Succession made it possible for her to ascend the throne by placing her back in the succession behind her two older siblings. For another, Edward began his formal education under Richard Cox, Provost of Eton, and Elizabeth was able to benefit from her closeness in age to the young heir. Although Henry VIII was "so ioyful of his Sonne that hee seemed to cast a neglect vpon his two daughters" (Heywood, *Elizabeth* 34) and all but ignored their education, Catherine Parr allowed the young princess to sit in on many of Edward's lessons. Elizabeth's educational involvement was more as a means to Edward's improvement rather than an end for herself, however, for her job was "to keepe the young Prince company" and to read his lessons to him so as to relieve some of the tedium for his tutors (Heywood, *Exemplary* 188). Still, the sympathetic Parr ensured that Elizabeth's formal education extended beyond this simple

vicarious learning, for she arranged for William Grindal to provide Elizabeth with more direct instruction, and at this time Elizabeth's "classical studies now began in earnest" (Plowden 75). After spending a decade in a sort of hereditary and educational limbo, then, Elizabeth finally began her formal classical education when she was eleven, and even then, she was still educated in an ornamental rather than in a practical ethical and political fashion—more as a courtier than as a potential monarch.

As she was third in line for the throne by the time her education "began in earnest," Elizabeth did not receive a specialised literary and monarchical education such as that of James (who had all but finished his formal education by the age at which Elizabeth began hers) or even Edward. Maria Perry is quite accurate in saying that the young princess was "formidably educated" (13), for Elizabeth's classical, political, and literary studies certainly outstripped those of her half-sister and left her capable of far more than "enriching the home with music and conversation." To argue of her "superhuman attainments" in education as Alison Plowden does (74), however, would be an exaggeration, for she was neither a child prodigy nor a student who was trained in an exceptionally gruelling manner. In his 1922 book *The Private Character of Queen Elizabeth*, Frederick Chamberlin supports Plowden's assertion of Elizabeth's genius and industry by writing that Elizabeth was "fascinated by learning" and studied languages, history, astronomy, mathematics, logic, philosophy, architecture, music, poetry, and political theory "indefatigably, all day long" under both Cox and Grindal. The veracity of this statement is suspect, however; Chamberlin lists no sources for his claim, and spends more time praising Elizabeth's penmanship than delineating what she learned or wrote at the time (18-22). Thomas Heywood's contemporary account of Elizabeth's political education contradicts Chamberlain's claims of her day-long textual studies. Heywood says that Elizabeth's studies were not so gruelling; her mornings consisted of prayer and the study of languages, sciences, morality, and some works of literature, while

her afternoons were spent in more leisurely pursuits such as needlepoint and the acquisition of social graces (Heywood, *Elizabeth* 37-8).

Roger Ascham's account of Elizabeth's schooling under him from 1548 to 1550 further demonstrates that her education, while undeniably good, was not strongly political and textual in emphasis even after its comparatively late start. In a letter to John Sturm written on 4 April 1550, Ascham says that as a student, the seventeen-year-old Elizabeth had proven herself to be his "brightest star" ("Sturm" lxii). Of course, one must take this glowing testimonial by the premier English classicist of his day with a grain of salt, for Ascham had reason to praise the princess; he wrote the letter from St John's College, Cambridge, where, as he says, "by her beneficence" he held "an honest place" (lxiii). This almost obligatory statement of her genius aside, the rest of his letter reveals that very little of her learning came from printed classical texts of political theory. He says that Elizabeth was fluent at speaking English, Latin, French, Italian, and was "moderately so in Greek" (lxiii). From Ascham's description, it is evident that Elizabeth received an obligatory standard education in classical languages, but one which was basic at best. Her readings in Latin were quite limited both in scope and political content, for Ascham writes that "all her knowledge of Latin" came from the fact that she had read "almost all Cicero and a great part of Titus Livius" (lxiii). While she undoubtedly read other works which Ascham fails to mention, the impression one gets is that in comparison to James, Elizabeth had a limited exposure to classical political authors since in all likelihood, she would never ascend to the throne.

If one can judge Elizabeth's textual learning from the number and quality of her published works, it is clear that hers was not a literary upbringing which instilled in her a sense of the power of the author and of the written word. Maria Perry calls Elizabeth "one of the most prolific writers of the golden age which bears her name" (13), but while she may have been a prolific writer of royal proclamations and personal letters, prayerbooks, and translations, she was certainly not a prolific published author. In fact,

during her lifetime, Elizabeth published only a few verses and one short book—a translation of Marguerite of Navarre's "The Mirror of the Sinful Soul" which she completed when she was just over fourteen years of age. The fact that this translation was published by the exiled reformer John Bale hints that the work was printed more out of Bale's desire to procure a pardon in England than out of his respect for its literary merit, and the quality of the translation bears this out. The work is a revision of a translation which Elizabeth had done three years earlier at age eleven, and while it was an ambitious undertaking for a child of her age, the basic mistakes in the translation from French to English in the finished product show that both the original translation and the later revision of the work had "stretched her powers of comprehension and concentration to the limit" (Perry 31-2). The quality of Elizabeth's translation shows that she did not have the sort of linguistic ability or training which later allowed an eight-year-old James VI to translate flawlessly "a chapter of the Bible from Latin into French, and from French into English extempore" much to the amazement of the English ambassador Henry Killigrew (Tytler 5: 13). Moreover, the fact that her sole published literary output was an adolescent translation which taxed her linguistic abilities helps demonstrate that as a youth, she did not have the classical literary and political training which might have instilled in her a greater appreciation of and facility with the printed word and the power inherent in authorship.

There is certainly no doubting Elizabeth's intellect, but the fact remains that unlike James, she was not specifically trained to read and write political texts as a fundamental part of her monarchical education. Ascham reveals this fact in his letter to Sturm, where he says that the highest praise he can give Elizabeth is to say that "nothing is more beautiful than her handwriting" (lxiii). The implication is that her interaction with the written word was more ornamental than it was anything else, the form and execution of her writing being more important than its content. In short, Elizabeth differed greatly from James in the nature of her monarchical training in that her education was not

monarchically focused and textually based from the start, and as a result, she did not base her rule upon such an intimate understanding of the political power of the author and text.

Nor did Mary, Queen of Scots, James's mother and immediate predecessor in Scotland, have an education which emphasised the study of texts as an integral part of monarchical training. Some of the specific elements of her education confirm that her early study was not as textually based as her son's was to be. Linguistically, she was more than competent at a young age, being fluent in French, English, and Scots. After age ten, under the supervision of her pragmatic uncle Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, she began some training in Latin. Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantôme, who accompanied her on her return to Scotland, cites the Latin speech in favour of liberal education which she delivered in front of the French King and Queen at age thirteen as evidence of her mastery of Latin: "Elle s'estoit faicte fort scavante en latin" (43). Yet other evidence shows that her spoken and written Latin was not as strong as he says. Her surviving exercise books demonstrate a large number of errors, indicating that Latin was not second nature to her (Stoddart 92-3), and certainly not first nature as it was to James who claimed that he had been taught to "speik latin ar [he] could speik Scotis" ("Apophthegmata" lxxii). Under Lorraine, Mary also began to study the rudiments of statecraft and theology. Aside from limited exposure to Plato, Plutarch, and Cicero, however, her textual training in political theory seems to have been limited, for her real preference was reading the poetry of Ronsard, du Bellay, and Maisonfleur. Brantôme notes that her daily regimen of combined textual study and pleasure reading was not at all rigorous: "Elle se reservoit tousjours deux heures du jour pour estudier et lire" (44). Two hours of book study per day would not render her the linguistic, literary, political, and theological creation which James was to become under George Buchanan's stern tutelage.

Upon ascending the Scottish throne, Mary realised that her classical historical training had been neglected, and took steps to fill this gap in her knowledge of political history. On 7 April 1562, Sir Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador and a former pupil of Buchanan's in Paris who was thus in a good position to assess the rigours of Mary's education, wrote to William Cecil in England that "the queen readeth daily after her dinner, instructed by a learned man Mr. George Bowhannan, somewhat of Lyvie" (P. Brown 180). Mary's ability to read Livy in the original is admirable, but Randolph's use of the word "somewhat" is interesting because it sums up much of her education as it pertains to her rule: she received *somewhat* of a textual education in literature, languages, theology, and statecraft, and this left her *somewhat* prepared for rule when she returned to Scotland. Until Francis II's death, Mary's future role in Scotland was to provide pleasant company for her husband at court, and her decorative courtly education reflected her family's belief that she would rule Scotland in name only after her marriage to Francis. Widowed, she made an attempt through Buchanan to broaden her reading of classical political texts, but basically remained a monarch untrained in political theory and largely unskilled at wielding practical political authority.

Edward VI represents James's closest monarchical analogue. Even before Edward's birth in 1537, Henry VIII had invested vast ambition in his future male heir. In hopes of producing a male successor to solidify the tenuous position of the Tudor dynasty, Henry had broken with the Catholic church when Pope Clement VII had refused to grant him an annulment in his marriage to Catherine of Aragon. From one perspective, the entire English Reformation came about in part due to Henry's attempt to produce a male heir. Henry had made a great sacrifice to establish dynastic security, and had had great expectations for his young son who from the time of his birth was touted as a Protestant champion and the main Tudor dynastic hope. Consequently, Henry made early provisions for his son's well-rounded monarchical education, which consisted in large part in the study of classical texts of political history and theory.

Even so, Edward's schooling did not begin as early as James's later would. Edward himself notes that he was brought up "among the women" until July of 1544—three months shy of his seventh birthday—at which time his formal education began (3). Considering that the traditional starting age for the formal education of a noble male in England was seven (Clarke 9), Edward was of slightly younger than average age when his education began in earnest. To this point, Edward's education had likely been quite basic, enabling him both to read and to write English, but affording him little exposure to Latin or any detailed textual study. Once Edward's formal education began, however, it was rigorous and based quite heavily on linguistic and textual study, for he records that his studies in languages, religion, and classical history began immediately, with the humanist pedagogues Richard Cox, John Cheke, and Jean Belmain instructing him in Latin, Greek, and French, respectively (3). Edward was evidently a bright child, for within six months, on 10 December 1544, Richard Cox would write to Sir William Paget that the young prince was beginning to decline Latin nouns and conjugate Latin verbs, and was ready to begin reading *Aesop's Fables* in Greek. Just over a year later, Cox would report that the eight-year-old Edward was starting to compose letters in Latin, and by 1547, he noted that Edward had progressed to studying more gruelling Greek and French texts than before (Clarke 9-10). In short, since he was born to be a monarch, Edward began his formal education far earlier than Elizabeth, whose first real exposure to classical linguistic and textual learning came at age eleven when she began to sit in on her younger half-brother's lessons. Nonetheless, the process of building Edward into a monarch began far later than it would with James, since James began his education in languages and political texts soon after the selection of his tutors when he was three years of age. While Cox might view Edward's progress in languages by age ten as remarkable, Killigrew's observations of the eight-year-old James and James's own assertion that he spoke Latin before he spoke Scots indicate that Edward's development into a textually created monarch did not begin as early as it did for his Scottish counterpart.

Nor was Edward's monarchical training as intensely literary or text-based as James's would be; instead, Edward's specialisation in theology and ethics made him a religious and moral creation, a figure well suited to be a Protestant champion. In general, Edward's education was more rounded than James's, but was neither as rigorous nor as focused in terms of literature, history, classical study, and political theory. Under Cox and Cheke, Edward's range of study was incredibly broad, rendering him "the forwardest Prince of all his Auncestors" as far as the breadth and depth of his learning (Heywood, *Elizabeth* 65). In addition to learning English, Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and Spanish, he also received training in theology, geography, various areas of the sciences, music, and hunting. If his education did have a focus, however, it was not to develop his understanding of literature or political history, but rather his sense of morality through the study of "one moral learning or other, collected out of such Authors as did best conduce to the Instruction of Princes" (Heywood, *Elizabeth* 38). At Cheke's urging, Edward's primary textual study focused on Cicero, Pliny, and in particular, Aristotle's *Ethics*, without placing a great deal of emphasis on classical historians such as Livy and Tacitus, or literary figures such as Homer, Sophocles, Terence, Ovid, and Virgil (Clarke 10-13). W.K. Jordan has noted that that "few monarchs in history have been as well equipped for their task as was Edward VI: he stood as a prince who would have delighted the fastidious and demanding taste of Erasmus" (xi-xii). The reality, however, is that although Edward perhaps *would have* fulfilled Erasmus' vision of the educated "Christian Prince," his death at age fifteen did not allow him to do so. More than Henry VIII, Mary I, or even Elizabeth I, Edward received an education which rivalled James's in scope and monarchical focus, but he did not live long enough to fulfill in any meaningful way the expectations which Henry VIII had placed upon him since even before his birth.

By contrast, James's educational focus upon classical historical and literary texts made him a textual creation, a "Gutenberg man" who was a political and literary figure

well suited to be an artist-king since his primary interaction with the teachings of others had been through the written text. From its beginnings, James's education was comparable to that of the figure who stood as the prototypical child prodigy in Renaissance Europe: Michel de Montaigne. James received a firm grounding in political history and classical literature, largely because his primary tutor, George Buchanan, was a famed Latin poet and historian. He also studied a great deal of classical political history, with a strong focus on the works of Livy, Tacitus, and Julius Caesar. In addition to having an historical focus for his education, James had a literary one as well, having studied the Latin verse of Virgil, Horace, Catullus, Lucan, and Martial, and the Greek works of Homer, Aeschylus, and Euripides (Clarke 16-17). Significantly, before becoming tutor to James, Buchanan had to some extent established his lesson plans by tutoring Montaigne. By the time he became Buchanan's student, Montaigne had received a remarkable education, having been instructed in Latin even before his "tongue was loosed in speech" (Montaigne 18). Montaigne writes that when he first came under the tutelage of Buchanan at age six in the College de Guyenne, Buchanan stated that he was intimidated by his young student's perfect command of Latin and announced his plans to write a treatise espousing the sort of early education which had left Montaigne so linguistically masterful at such a young age (19). While Buchanan would never write this educational treatise, the text he would later create was a bodily one in the form of James, who may not have been the most learned person of his age, but who was to become the most learned early modern monarch in Europe.

Unlike Henry VIII, Mary I, Elizabeth I, and even his own mother, James was a monarch who had been textually educated from his youth with the sole intention of preparing him for monarchy. And unlike Edward VI, he was a monarch who lived long enough to apply this specialised textual learning directly to his practice of rule. As a result, James became, as Mark Pattison states, "the only English prince who has carried to the throne knowledge derived from reading, or any considerable amount of literature"

(263). This knowledge would play a formative role in James's Scottish and English kingships, for just as he was a monarch created in part by literary texts, he would ensure that his practice of kingship itself would have a corresponding literary underpinning. Like his education, his practice of rule would be based in large part on the lessons he both learned and asserted through various texts: the power of the patron and of the author, the artistic idea of order, the dissemination of the word, and most importantly, the importance of balance and mediation.

Even when choosing tutors for the young king in the summer of 1569, Regent Moray strove to effect the balance which Desiderius Erasmus suggested in his 1516 *The Education of a Christian Prince*: "The teacher must adopt a mid-course; he should be stern enough to suppress the wild pranks of youth, yet have a friendly understanding to lessen and temper the severity of his restraint" (142). To ensure this educational balance, and also a wider cultural one in terms of the extremes of the violently divided religious and political situation in Scotland which had elevated James to the throne in the first place, Moray did not rely on one preceptor, but instead appointed two of similar education but divergent personalities to instruct the young "apprentice king": George Buchanan and Peter Young. The combination of Buchanan and Young provided an educational and cultural balance between a number of extremes: age and youth, sternness and understanding, severity and sweetness, the artistic and the political, the secular and the religious, and reformed Catholic and devout Presbyterian. Embodying these extremes in their personalities and teachings, Buchanan and Young were the first two "texts" which James encountered, and as such were a formative influence on his development into a mediating, reconciling, and contradictory king. In order to understand James's theory and practice of kingship, one must understand how as a child and even later as an adult, James defined his kingship both in relation to and in opposition to his tutors' teachings regarding the conduct, duty, and authority of the monarch.

Young, who was only twenty-five years of age when Moray appointed him assistant to Buchanan in 1569, provided the "friendly understanding" which Erasmus recommended in a tutor and which ultimately contributed to the young tutor's staying power at court. Of course, as much as by his amiable nature, Young was almost certainly helped to his post by the fact that his uncle, Henry Scrymgeour, was a friend of the already-appointed Buchanan. In addition to his psychological and familial recommendations, however, he did have the sort of educational and religious background which made him a logical choice to help educate a young Protestant monarch. He had been taught at Geneva by Jean Calvin's successor, Theodore Beza (Warner xiii), and so his allegiance to the Presbyterian cause was firm. Young's ability to both please the regent with his moderation and satisfy Buchanan with his learning helped him attain his court position as royal tutor; his gentleness towards the young James, however, would ultimately advance his career both in Scotland and in England.

If his actions as tutor and his subsequent preferment history under James are any indication, Young proved to be a kindly and moderate figure to whom the young king became quite devoted. Sir James Melville of Halhill describes Young as "loath to offend the King at any time" (103), and—unlike Buchanan—no record of Young's physically disciplining James exists to dispute this assertion. Indeed, the fact that Young would record and collect the young James's pithy, "pregnant" witticisms in the manuscript "Apophthegmata Regis" demonstrates that he was indulgent and encouraging in his dealings with James. For five decades, James rewarded Young at least in part for his past benevolence. On 22 March 1573/4, for instance, James awarded Young an annual pension of two hundred marks as "recompans and rewaird of his gret and lang service" in the "instructing and techeing of his Majestie" ("Library of Mary" 15). Considering that Young's "gret and lang service" to that point had consisted of only slightly over four years of tutelage, James must have been quite fond of his tutor. By 1577, James had increased Young's pension to two hundred pounds per annum, and in September of 1580,

he awarded him "sum pece of land" as payment for his "lang trew and thankfull service done to his Majestie" (15). On the basis of this "trew" service, Young remained a trusted servant even after James's formal education was finished. In 1585 and 1588, James sent him to Denmark to negotiate a possible royal marriage, the eventual arrangement of which must have further solidified Young's position at court. James was satisfied with Young's competence as an educator as well as negotiator in Scotland, for in England he appointed Young tutor to Prince Charles in November of 1604. Clearly James wished his son to be educated in the same manner he himself had been. Three months later, in February of 1604/5, James knighted Young, and while the proliferation of early Jacobean knighthoods somewhat besmirches the honour, the act still stands as a further testament to James's devotion. Young's favour lasted late into James's English reign, for upon Young's intended retirement to Scotland in 1623, James made a concerted effort to ensure that he was paid the part of his pension which was in arrears (Warner, "Library" xiv-xvi). With his continued rewarding and advancement of Young throughout both reigns, James was requiting kindness with kindness, although several critics have taken James's favour as evidence that Young's benevolence was motivated mainly by self-interest.²

Despite his position with respect to the impressionable young king and its unlimited opportunity for graft, however, Young does not seem to have fallen into the trap which Erasmus outlines, that of becoming "the tutor and preceptor . . . who only wishes to gain further riches for himself, . . . without a thought to making a better prince" (195). Caroline Bingham believes that Young sought merely to preserve James's self-confidence which Buchanan's stern methods might have destroyed, and maintains that "in no sense should Young be seen as functioning in opposition to Buchanan" (*James VI* 41). For his part, Buchanan did not feel that Young was subverting his authority, for he wrote two Latin poems in which he praised both Young's learning and character.³ At any rate, no evidence exists to demonstrate anything but mutual respect

between the two preceptors. The kindness which Young exhibited in his teaching methods was one half of Erasmus' pedagogical equation. For the developing James, Young was a repository of tact, kindness, and understanding almost to the point of undermining Buchanan, and as such was the more approachable and temperate bearer of the educational message. In short, the affection which James harboured for his former tutor and the continued concern which he expressed for his welfare from early in his Scottish reign to late in his English one derived in large part from the fact that Young was, as Moray had anticipated, "more gentle" with the young monarch than Buchanan was (Sir J. Melville 103).

If Young provided the gentleness and "friendly understanding" necessary for the education of a young monarch, Buchanan provided a balance through his complementary "severity." By the time he was appointed James's chief tutor, the sixty-three year-old Buchanan was a professional academic with a scholarly, humanistic, courtly, and pedagogical *curriculum vitae* which, combined with the fact that he was also a Scot, strongly recommended him for the job of overseeing the education of the infant Scottish king. A graduate of the universities of St Andrews and Paris, he had acquitted himself well as Regent of the College of Sainte-Barbe, and had later proven himself to be a formidable classical scholar as Professor of Latin at Bordeaux, Paris, and Coimbra. During his time on the Continent, he had broadened his learning by befriending a wide array of humanist religious and political thinkers, including Hector Boece, Guillaume Budé, Theodore Beza, Mellin de Saint Gellais, and perhaps even Desiderius Erasmus (McFarlane 26; 28; 100-101). In addition, Buchanan was no stranger to the Scottish court, having served in the household of James V in the late 1630s and as an interpreter for Mary, Queen of Scots in the early 1560s (48; 211-12). But what perhaps most recommended Buchanan as principal tutor to James was the fact that he had already served a number of notable pedagogical "apprenticeships." As mentioned previously, he had tutored the six-year-old prodigy Montaigne, but more importantly, he had privately

tutored members of the Scottish royal family. For three years in the late 1530s, he had served as the preceptor to one of the illegitimate sons of James V (G. Mackenzie 1: 157), and in May of 1561, James Stewart, the future Regent Moray, recommended him as a Latin tutor to the adolescent Mary, Queen of Scots (McFarlane 208). By the time he became principal tutor to James, then, Buchanan had already established himself as one of the most learned and well-known men in Europe, who in addition to being a Scottish classical scholar and teacher was also a "poet, satirist, reformer, political theorist, tragedian and historian" (Bingham, *James VI* 30).

Famed for his seriousness almost as much as for his broad learning, Buchanan proved a stern counterpoint to the milder Young. Sir James Melville describes Buchanan as having been "extremely revengeful against any man who had offended him" (103), and the Earl of Cromarty, whose grandfather Lord Invertye was a student of Buchanan's at the same time as James, records that on at least two occasions Buchanan's vengeful nature and humanist belief in the necessity of educating a monarch manifested itself physically upon the young king. Cromarty claims that in the first instance, James wanted possession of a tame sparrow which belonged to the young Master of Erskine, the Earl of Mar's eldest son, but in the ensuing struggle for the bird, the two young boys managed to tear the creature to pieces. Surveying the situation, Buchanan told James that he was "a true Bird of the bloody Nest of which he was come," and boxed him smartly on the ear. Cromarty says that on another occasion, Buchanan, deep in study, warned James that he "would whip his Breech" if he did not cease his boisterous play with Erskine. After James challenged Buchanan's authority by responding cheekily that he would like to see who would "bell the cat," the enraged Buchanan proceeded to make good his threat. Lady Mar, drawn to the scene by James's cries, asked Buchanan how he could presume to lay his hand upon "the Lord's anointed," to which the elderly tutor replied: "Madam, I have whipt his arse; you may kiss it if you please" (G. Mackenzie 1: 180). In this incident in particular, Buchanan physically demonstrated the changing Renaissance

parameters regarding the inviolable nature of the monarch. In short, through his stern demeanour and physical presence, during the decade in which he served as principal tutor, Buchanan "held the king in great awe" (Sir J. Melville 103) by enacting the humanist promise—and threat—that a monarch might be educated and disciplined by his subjects.

Buchanan's presence was an awful one in both senses of the term, for he was a figure whose severity inspired both long-term admiration and revulsion in his pupil. Although James would as late as 1617 express gratitude for the pronunciation of both Latin and Greek which his "master," Buchanan, had instilled in him (Grant 1: 174), at other times he seemed more in awe of what he called the "violence of [Buchanan's] humour and heat of his spirit" which characterised his teaching method and could cause him to "burst out here, or there into some traces of excess of speech or bad temper" (Stephen and Lee, "Buchanan" 191). Years after his formal education in Scotland was finished and he had become King of England, the adult James was still haunted by the fearful image of Buchanan. On one occasion, he admitted that he frequently trembled at the approach of one of his court officials because the man "so minded him of his pedagogue" (P. Brown 255), and on another, he confessed to having had a nightmare in which Buchanan chastised him roundly (Akrigg 7). As one might expect, Buchanan's formidable presence and "harsh authoritarianism" (Bingham, *James VI* 42) would influence the young king negatively in a number of ways, and through a process of simple association make him reject some of his principal tutor's attendant teachings regarding the monarch's authority with respect to his subjects and the Church. To some degree it is true that "for all his intellectual and literary distinction Buchanan may not have been the best person to be put in charge of a small boy" (Clarke 15) due to his short temper and lack of patience. Yet as a model of severity he served two important purposes for the developing monarch: providing a necessary balance to the kindly Young, and demonstrating to James the power inherent in the presentation of an authoritative image.

Together, the stern and physically authoritative Buchanan and the mild, more indulgent Young provided the balance which Erasmus recommended in a prince's education. As chief preceptor, Buchanan remained firmly in charge of the content and direction of James's education, while Young, as his assistant, executed Buchanan's design. In his *Autobiography*, James Melville clarifies the roles of the two preceptors, saying that James was taught by "Mr George Bowchanan and Mr Piter Young, that an the King's maister, that uther his paedagog" (30). In differentiating between the terms "master" and "pedagogue," Melville indicates that Buchanan was responsible for directing James's studies in general, and Young was responsible for personally teaching the young monarch. In the dedication of his 1582 *Rerum scoticarum historia*, Buchanan supports Melville's assertion that he was more in charge of the design and overseeing of the King's education rather than the presentation of the educational message itself. Understanding the degree to which James learns principles of governance from the written text, Buchanan intends his work to compensate for the fact that both ill health and the writing of his Scottish monarchical history have prevented him from educating the young monarch as directly as he would have liked. He writes: "as an incurable state of health prevents me from attending to the cultivation of your genius, intrusted to my care, I have considered it my next duty to . . . supply my own deficiency, by sending to you faithful monitors from history" (*History* 1: civ). The fact that Buchanan himself saw his *Historia* as constituting his effort to make up for failure to participate actively in James's daily education demonstrates that his role had been a supervisory one rather than a direct one with respect to the education of the young king. Buchanan summed up his teaching role best in his brief autobiography, writing that his function was not that of one who provides direct instruction, but instead that of one who "superintends the education of James VI. King of the Scots" ("Life" lxxxviii). In short, a sort of balance existed between Buchanan and Young, in which the absent authority Buchanan formulated

James's course of study, and the attendant and moderate Young was responsible for the delivery more than the composition of the educational message.

On a basic level, this balance between the contrasting personalities and pedagogical approaches of the kindly Young and the severe Buchanan provided a practical demonstration of what was later to inform James's kingship at almost every level: the necessity of balance and the importance of mediating between extremes. While under the educational authority of two such divergent tutors, James learned to negotiate between opposing modes of behavior and instruction which Buchanan and Young both represented and enacted: detached order and direct execution; severity and sweetness; anger and tolerance; cruelty and kindness; and punishment and leniency. From his engagement with his tutors, James learned that both halves of these pairings are necessary elements in a king's dealings with his subjects; the successful monarch must reconcile them within himself and thereby embody the *via media*. The extent to which James internalised the importance of the *via media* to kingship is demonstrated by the fact that on one occasion he actually referred to the *via media* as the "*via regia*," the kingly way ("Letter to Cecil" 284).

In being the "paedagog" who personally delivered Buchanan's lessons to the young king, Young "probably did quite as much of the real work of teaching" James as Buchanan did, and thus "deserves a full share of credit for James's undoubted proficiency as a scholar" (Warner xiii). Young's own record of a typical day as tutor to James clearly illustrates the direct role he played in James's gruelling and formative textual education. First thing in the morning, Young gave James religious instruction and led him through prayers. After this, he had James read Greek texts, and then provided him with lessons in Greek grammar. James's lessons in classics not yet complete, Young then led him through some readings in Latin before instructing him in Roman history. Following this, he rounded out James's morning studies by giving him lessons in Scottish and other European history. Young dedicated most of the afternoon to lessons in writing,

improving James's classical and vernacular writing skills, and establishing the literary foundation upon which James would later build his kingship. Time permitting, the rest of the afternoon included studies in dialectic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geography, and astronomy (Warner 30). Through such an intense and broad program of textual study, Young personally helped develop James into Buchanan's conception of a learned monarch, at once theologian, political theorist, and author.

Caroline Bingham writes that "while it was Buchanan who forcibly fed the King with learning, perhaps Young should receive the credit for inspiring him with a genuine love for it" (*James VI* 39). This does not mean, however, that James's relationship with the teachings of his preceptors was a simple one in which he accepted those of the benevolent Young and rejected those of the stern Buchanan. While he may have identified more closely with Young as a person, he could not have entirely rejected Buchanan's teachings in favour of Young's, since Buchanan as chief preceptor governed the direction of Young's teachings. Alvin Kernan argues that the young James resented the fierce authority which Buchanan held over him, and as a result "developed, perhaps as a compensation for his actual weakness, a theory of the absolute, unlimited authority of a king over his subjects" (93). To some extent, this is true, for both Buchanan's theoretical teachings regarding the monarch's limited authority over his subjects and his practical physical demonstrations of this upon "the arse of the Lord's anointed" undoubtedly were distasteful to James, and contributed to his later espousal of the doctrine of divine-right monarchy in works such as *Basilicon Doron*. Yet James's engagement with other such stern lessons which Buchanan presented to him (in large part through Young) was a contradictory one, for he did not always reject what was taught him, but also accepted other teachings regarding the fallible authority and conduct of a monarch. Rather than simply terrifying James into rejecting his teachings, Buchanan's fearful countenance seems to have driven home lessons on kingship which James would embrace for the rest of his life. His exposure to Buchanan's mien and teachings helped

James develop an acute and longstanding interest in the power of the monarch as image, author, and mediator. Buchanan was himself a contradiction, being "both humane and vindictive, mirthful and morose, cultured and coarse, fond of truth, but full of prejudice" (Bevan 13). It is not surprising, then, that his pupil would develop into a contradiction as well, a monarch who was stern yet merciful, crude yet cultured, foolish yet wise, a born king and a constructed one, and who was above all a living mediation between lessons both accepted and rejected.

Through his severity, Buchanan impressed his teachings both negatively and positively upon James during the formative early years of his education. As an advocate of the divine right of kings in his writings such as *Basilicon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, James would ultimately reject Buchanan's teachings regarding constitutional monarchy. In a further repudiation of Buchanan's teachings, he would reject some of the ideals of Presbyterianism which his tutor sought to instil in him, for by the time he ascended the throne in England, he had reinstated the episcopacy in Scotland as a symbol of his authority over the Kirk. He would not, however, define himself simply in opposition to Buchanan, for he embraced and endorsed other of Buchanan's teachings regarding monarchical authority. For instance, as Buchanan had taught him, he prided himself on being the *pater patriae*, the father and moral example to the nation. In addition, as a textually constructed monarch, he emphasised the authority of the written word and used it, through his own writings and those of others, as a primary means of upholding his kingships. Most importantly, both by negotiating between the diametrically opposed dispositions of Buchanan and Young and by adhering to Buchanan's endorsement of the monarchical *via media*, he came to understand and rely upon the power of the mediator. In short, James became a textually constructed monarch and rigorously conditioned scholar comprised of some teachings which he rejected and against which he defined himself, and others which he embraced and with which he allied himself. In his 1516 *The Education of a Christian Prince*, Erasmus argues that

"nothing remains so deeply and tenaciously rooted as those things learned in the first years" (140). Such is the case with James, for the general teachings of his first two educational "texts"—Buchanan and Young—remained "tenaciously rooted" in his political theory for the rest of his life.

But James learned specific and highly theoretical lessons about statecraft and politics. Prior to being appointed James's principal tutor, Buchanan stated in a Latin poem addressed to his English friend Sir Thomas Randolph that were he ever in a position to mould a king, he would attempt to instil in that monarch a number of specific qualities such as piety, a sense of his unifying role in the nation, and an authority tempered with mercy. After his appointment, he was in a position to mould a king to these specifications, and "lost no opportunity of impressing on James this ideal of his future duties" (P. Brown 254-5). Peter Hume Brown's English prose translation of this poem sheds a great deal of light upon the general direction of James's monarchical education. First of all, Buchanan stated that he "would have him a lover of true piety." Although James's piety would not ultimately be the same as Buchanan's, his life-long interest in the Church—culminating with his hosting the Hampton Court Conference out of which came the King James Bible—demonstrates that he took at least part of Buchanan's teachings on religion to heart, and in a manner of speaking, to head. James extended another of Buchanan's ideas further than his tutor had intended; Buchanan desired that his king be self-confident and view himself as "the veritable image of highest God," but almost certainly given his later writings did not intend for James to conceive of himself as a divine-right monarch. Buchanan further argued that his ideal king must be an unselfish role model whose life "must be the pattern of every citizen" since he was "the common father of the state" (254) upon whom his subjects would look for moral and spiritual guidance, and a sense of nationhood. While one could certainly make a case that James's often boorish behaviour at court demonstrated that he was not concerned about the example his personal life set for his subjects, his public writings such as the

1604 cultural commentary *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* show a genuine concern for the welfare of his subjects.

Buchanan also recommended that a monarch should balance his fearsome authority with a sense of judicial moderation. He was of the opinion that a monarch's "countenance [should be both] the terror of evil doers, [and] the delight of those that do well" (254). This emphasis on the power of the royal image to exert authority tempered with mercy was not lost on James, whose concern for the cultivation of his image was a major impetus in his writing and patronage of texts. In later years, James would have a virulent but wavering hatred for Catholics, the Spanish, and even individual figures such as Sir Walter Raleigh, but as a monarch who frequently broke bread with enemies such as Andrew Melville and forgave some of the nobles who threatened the safety of both his person and kingship, he could be reconciling, and in this attempted to follow Buchanan's dictum that a monarch must learn to "lay aside his hate." As the "father of the state" whose duties included the punishing and rewarding of his subjects, through his actions James showed an adherence to Buchanan's principle that the monarch should temper his authority with mercy, being stern but also "lenient if it is consistent with the welfare of his people" (254).

Even more, James adhered to Buchanan's dictum that a monarch must mediate between extremes in other areas of government. For instance, Buchanan's opinion that a monarch "must love peace, yet be ever ready for war" (254) left a firm impression upon him, if his later military involvement is any indication. While James's readiness for war was questionable during both of his reigns, his personal motto—*Beati Pacifici*—neatly summed up his longstanding desire to preserve the peace at all costs. James's attempts at preserving peace through personal intervention and moderation further relied on Buchanan's teachings of the value of mediation and of following the *via media*. Although his fiscal irresponsibility would ultimately thwart Buchanan's desire for a king who was "neither a niggard nor a spendthrift" and had sufficient "good sense and good

taste" to "keep in check luxurious excess" (254), James followed Buchanan's general teaching in spirit if not to the letter. His own belief that he was "Great Britain's Solomon," the reconciler, moderator, and mediator who stood above party and argument, maintained the core of both his theory and practice of kingship. Indeed, many of James's qualities as king seem to derive directly from both his positive and negative responses to the conception of the ideal monarch which Buchanan attempted to impress upon the "apprentice king" by forming him into a monarchical "text."

Buchanan's conception of the ideal monarch was probably influenced in part by a work with which James engaged from an early age: Roger Ascham's posthumously published 1570 educational manual *The Scholemaster*. Ascham's work, as a source of much of what Buchanan attempted to impress upon James, was one of the first texts in the young student's life and permeated and directed his education. For a number of reasons, *The Scholemaster* would have been natural choice as source-book for the tutor of a monarch. A published Latin scholar, Ascham was a personal acquaintance of Buchanan's, and Buchanan admired his work, if the two poems which he composed in honour of Ascham on the occasion of Ascham's death are an indication. Further, Ascham had an educational pedigree which was similar to Buchanan's; just as Buchanan had tutored Montaigne and Mary Stuart and was in the process of preparing James for kingship, Ascham had served as tutor to Elizabeth I of England from 1548 to 1550. Another reason for Buchanan's reliance upon Ascham to help him educate James involves the cutting-edge nature of *The Scholemaster*, which was published in 1570, the year in which James's education began in earnest. Buchanan's reliance upon *The Scholemaster* for both the specific content and general direction of his teachings meant that James would have been aware of it through Buchanan and Young's tutelage. Moreover, James's paternal grandmother, Margaret Douglas, Lady Lennox, had presented a copy of Ascham's work to the young king sometime before her death in March 1578. James in turn gave the book to Anne Murray, later Lady Tullibardine

(Warner, lxii). Having absorbed its contents both directly and indirectly, he clearly recommended it to someone else as a work whose educational tenets were well worth learning.

A number of principles in Ascham's work make it a significant text for James in both a negative and a positive sense. As far as its negative influence, the work makes a basic assumption contradicting the essentialist monarchical principles which the King of Scots would later espouse. In light of his long-held conception of the divine origins of monarchy, the young James would renounce the basic premise implied in the extended title of Ascham's work: that a king could in fact be built rather than born. Ascham asserts in the title that the book is "specially purposed for the private brynging up of youth in Gentlemen and Noble mens houses" (*Scholemaster* ix), and while this does not overtly state that a king could be built rather than divinely ordained, it certainly implies, as does Castiglione's *Courtier*, that noble or monarchical birth means little without the proper educational development. Ascham believes that regardless of his social origins, the pupil is a sort of *tabula rasa*, at the mercy of his tutors who are entitled to use both "feare and love" to mould him to noble or monarchical specifications (*Scholemaster* xvii). As a work which thus armed Buchanan with the idea that a king could be constructed rather than born, Ascham's *Scholemaster* proved to be a strong negative example for an advocate of divine-right monarchical theory. While education might enhance the qualities of a nobleman or monarch, in James's opinion it could not alter the divinely sanctioned social order, and so the young king who considered himself a monarch by virtue of his birthright could not accept the implied premise of Ascham's work that a monarch could be constructed with the proper educational guidance. In short, the book confronted James with a contradiction: theoretically he was a born king, yet according to Ascham and Buchanan, he was a created one, made by life experience and scholarly preparation rather than divine ordination.

James would reconcile this contradiction by conceiving of himself as a philosopher-king, since in his opinion, kings were born and philosophers were trained. Although he did not agree with Ascham that scholarly instruction made a king, he did concede that it could develop the intellect, morality, and faculty of judgement in an existing one. Ascham's primary tool for moulding young noblemen and thus young monarchs was a firm grounding in Latin which would impress upon them the rudiments of Latin grammar and rhetoric while at the same time providing them with invaluable lessons on ethics, "trothe in Religion," "honestie of living," and "good maners" (*Scholemaster* 91). Buchanan's adherence to this principle of grueling Latin study from an early age coupled with ethical training had lasting effects upon James. The English ambassador Henry Killigrew marvelled at the eight-year-old monarch's proficiency in Latin and French (Tytler 5: 13), and as an adult, James frequently made use of both his biblical and classical learning in his own writings. During the course of his exposure to Ascham's Latin primer, James must have absorbed a variety of Ascham's ethical teachings: the necessity of practising "cumlinesse in Courtlie maners;" the importance of learning "all [the] right doinges of men" and thereby becoming an astute judge of character; the dangers of experience without instruction which could leave one with little awareness of political or religious theory; and perhaps most importantly, an understanding of the force of both positive and negative behavioural examples on ethical development (*Scholemaster* 42; 56; 62-4) which would allow a monarch to weigh both sides of every question. As "Great Britain's Solomon," James would rely on these teachings for the rest of his natural life, weighing evidence and passing judgement firmly convinced that he was a monarch born a king and trained as a philosopher.

Another of the primary texts of James's education, Desiderius Erasmus' *The Education of a Christian Prince*, also provided James with both positive and negative examples of the morality and nature of kingship. Unlike Ascham's recent work, Erasmus' was a standard educational text by James's time, having been published in

1516 by one of the most famous humanist scholars of the Renaissance, and by very nature of its title seems a logical choice as an instructional manual for the tutor of a minority king. As such, it is almost certain that the work played a major role in Buchanan's pedagogy with respect to James, although Buchanan's connection to Erasmus is more tenuous and less personal than his affiliation with Ascham. No evidence exists of any direct meeting or association between Buchanan and Erasmus, but as a student at the College of Sainte-Barbe at the University of Paris in the late 1520s, Buchanan observed the cultural and intellectual climate of Erasmus' humanism, since Erasmus was at that time teaching at another college in the University (McFarlane 28). Buchanan's exposure at this time to Erasmus' writings on the relationship between Church and State, the dangers of religious fanaticism, and the importance of classical education, had a lasting effect upon him; Erasmus' famous text on monarchical education influenced his conception of the ideal monarch which he outlined to Sir Thomas Randolph, and made him a sort of disciple of Erasmus such that "Erasmus' impact on the early Buchanan prolong[ed] itself into old age" (McFarlane 6).

In his "old age," Buchanan ensured that James also had a firm textual grounding in Erasmus' principles of theology, monarchy, and education, for he either supervised or permitted the acquisition of several of Erasmus' works quite early in James's minority. On 25 July 1576, with the written approval of Regent Morton, James's tutors purchased "Pour le Roy" a book recorded only as "Erasmi Lingua" ("Library of Mary" 14). According to Peter Young's manuscript inventory of the young king's books, by early 1578, James owned at least two others of Erasmus' works. As she did with *The Scholemaster*, James's grandmother Lady Lennox again provided him with a key humanist educational text before her death; recorded in Young's inventory of the king's books as "Empta" or "purchased" for her grandson is a collection of Erasmus' writings listed as "Colloquia Erasmi"—the *Familiar Colloquies*. Young records also that around the same time, the Bishop of Caithness gave James Erasmus' book of Apophthegms, the

"Apophthegmata Erasmi" (Warner lxi). While James was well-provided with a number of Erasmus' books, Young does not record that he owned *The Education of a Christian Prince* specifically. Still, his ownership of other of Erasmus' works, coupled with the fact that he owned multiple copies of several other far less well-known manuals for the education of a prince by 1578—Jean du Tillet's *Institution du Prince Chretien* (xxxiii) and Guillaume Budé's *Livre de l'Institution du Prince* (lxi), for example—makes it very likely that through his training, James was familiar with this book of Erasmus' which had the closest relation to his education. And if he had not himself read the work, he was at least aware of it indirectly and in a way owned it mentally through Buchanan's humanist pedagogy, since the work prefigured Buchanan's expressed method of teaching a young monarch point-for-point as far as the morality and public role of the monarch, the importance of mediation, moderation, and good judgement, and the value of peace both within and outside national borders. Whether or not James owned *The Education of a Christian Prince* and read it himself, then, it had a formative influence on his development as monarch. As the foremost sixteenth-century humanist scholar's prescription for educating a king, the book was a necessary guide for someone in Buchanan's unique position of royal tutor, and through his exposure to it, James represented a living, fully trained embodiment of the monarch Erasmus outlined in his unprecedented work.

Many teachings on education, mediation, and the power of the image which Buchanan derived from Erasmus' *The Education of a Christian Prince* provided James with positive examples from which to develop a theory of monarchy. As with Ascham's *Scholemaster*, the radical underlying principle of the Erasmus' work was a humanist one of "going back"—going back to classical models, and going back to the earliest possible construction of a monarch, in infancy (Hardin 154). This humanist proposition—that a monarch could be created through education—"would have made [the work] uneasy reading for an intelligent young prince" (159), and must have been a difficult one for

James to come to terms with initially. In the original Latin title with which James was familiar—*Institutio Principis Christiani*—Erasmus emphasises the idea of construction, since the noun “institutio” derives from the verb “statuere,” meaning “to set up or establish.” The idea of building a prince is also inherent even in the most common English translation of the title—*The Education of a Christian Prince*—where “education” derives from the Latin verb “ducere,” or “to lead.” Right from its start, Erasmus’ text implies that a monarch is not so much born as set up, led, or constructed through education. Although James must have resisted such an affront to his supposed divine-right monarchy, he learned to reconcile the ideas of education and divine ordination by becoming through Buchanan’s tutelage an almost exact fulfilment of Erasmus’ prescription for an enlightened monarch: a philosopher-king. Erasmus observed that in the case of hereditary succession where “there is no choice” among monarchs, educating the future monarch and thereby creating a wise and benevolent ruler is imperative (140). The bulk of *The Education of a Christian Prince* attempts to provide such an educational framework, with the primary goal of producing a philosopher-king, since Erasmus believes that “you cannot be a prince, if you are not a philosopher” (150). Buchanan’s expressed desire to produce such a monarch through the proper education (P. Brown 254) shows how firmly he believed in Erasmus’ conception of the enlightened ruler. James did not agree with Erasmus and Buchanan that a monarch could be created by education. He did, however, agree that the “education of a Christian prince” was essential in creating a philosopher-king; in his opinion, it was essential to enhance or develop rather than construct the fundamental and divinely ordained qualities of a born monarch.

As James’s later education of his own sons shows, he agreed with Erasmus that in the case of hereditary succession, “the chief hope for a good prince is from his education, which should be especially looked to” (Erasmus, *Education* 140) since it helped develop or refine the set of inborn essential monarchical skills. Just as his own education began

"from the very cradle" as Erasmus recommended (140), so did those of Prince Henry and Prince Charles. And James took seriously Erasmus' dictum that "whenever the prince picks up a book, he should do so not with the idea of gaining pleasure but of bettering himself by his reading" (203), for at the hands of Buchanan and Young he was firmly schooled in the didactic nature of written texts, and in dedicating *Basilicon Doron* to Prince Henry, he demonstrated the importance he placed on the textual education of his own heirs. James's hope in trying to educate his children through his own written works was Erasmian in origin, observing the humanist's recommendation to "raise your children for future rule as if it were your desire to be succeeded by a better prince" (141). If James was a textually developed monarch, through his sons' education—which included the study of his own written works—he intended his potential heirs to have as firm a textual grounding as he had had. In short, both the rigorous program of textual study which Buchanan imposed on his young charge and James's own published writings demonstrate the degree to which both tutor and pupil adhered to Erasmus' theories of monarchical education; Buchanan attempted to fulfil Erasmus' vision by developing James into king who was also a philosopher, and James, feeling that Buchanan had done this successfully, attempted to do the same with his own sons.

Another of Erasmus' counsels which Buchanan impressed upon James from an early age was that the monarch must be a religious and moral exemplar and guide for the nation. The very title of Erasmus' work emphasises the importance of religion to a monarch, and at one point in the text, Erasmus even changes to second person point-of-view and directly addresses a hypothetical future monarch on the necessity of being a religious guardian and champion: "Whenever you think of yourself as a prince, remember you are a *Christian Prince*!" (152). Although James did not follow Buchanan's specific interpretation of this statement—that a monarch should be a Presbyterian one—he did in general follow Erasmus' advice later in life, taking a keen interest in religious affairs and maintaining that he was head of both Church and State.

Erasmus was not just concerned that the king's religious conviction set the standard by which his subjects lived, but was also adamant that the monarch be a moral signpost for the nation, a throwback to the time "before sin sowed the seeds of discord and dissonance" among humans (Echard 27). He argues, for instance, that the prince's tutors must ensure that the prince "loves and honors virtue as the finest quality of all, the most felicitous, the most fitting a prince; and that he loathes and shuns moral turpitude as the foulest and most terrible of things" (Erasmus, *Education* 148). The monarch's repudiation of "moral turpitude" would ensure that he lives a principled and moderate life, and through its example, do the same for his subjects, for in Erasmus' opinion, "a wholesome life on the part of the prince is, without question, the quickest and shortest way to improve public morals" (156). Of course, with his often crude behaviour and his later romantic interest in Esmé Stuart and George Villiers, in private James would not live up to the standard which Erasmus had set to "be a good man for the common good" (156); as his published writings on witchcraft and the use of tobacco demonstrate, however, he agreed with Erasmus that "no comet, no dreadful power affects the progress of human affairs as the life of the prince grips and transforms the morals and character of his subjects" (157), and through his writings he attempted in a public forum to inform and reform his subjects as much as possible.

Erasmus' emphasis on the monarch's "dreadful power" to reform the morals of his subjects hints at another key lesson which Buchanan derived from Erasmus and passed on to James: the power inherent in the monarchical image. Accompanied even to the lavatory by a Groom of the Stool, a Renaissance monarch had no such thing as a private life, as Erasmus succinctly states: "your life is open to all—you cannot hide yourself" (156). It is not just the case that a monarch *cannot* hide himself, however; in Erasmus' opinion, a monarch *must not* hide himself, but must instead foster this inevitably public image for the benefit of his own reputation in addition to the reform of the nation's morality. In light of the public nature of the king's image and the power it has to

influence the behaviour and moral and religious convictions of others, Erasmus feels that "it is more becoming a prince to appear at public functions than to remain secluded" (245). James would later discover that it was not only more becoming a monarch to appear in public, but also more useful politically. Though he was not particularly fond of ceremony and spectacle for their own sake, he realised their political expediency, and at numerous times in his reigns, used them in conjunction with the presentation of his image to define his role with respect to his subjects; whether participating in coronation ceremonies which demonstrated the gulf that separated the divinely ordained king from his subjects, or walking amongst his subjects to the cathedral at York in order to show them his humanity (Bingham, *James I* 11), or authorising the public reproduction of his likeness on canvas, coin, or statue, he followed Erasmus' dictum that since a monarch had no private life, his public image must be used to every advantage.

In addition to portraying himself as an inviolable divinely ordained yet human authority, James also would cultivate for himself the image of the mediating judge—again, in accordance with Erasmus' maxim in *The Education of a Christian Prince*. Erasmus argues that the ideal prince should take an unbiased judicial position, neither admiring nor castigating alone, but rather placing himself above party so that he is able "to judge all things on their own merits as 'good' or 'bad'" (148). In his judicial role, Erasmus continues, the king must be unemotional, and able to "cast aside all personal motives, and use only reason and judgment" when weighing the affairs of his subjects (159). The king's magisterial duty involves more than passing judgement on his subjects, however; he must himself be the judge even of the judges, appointing magistrates to act in his stead and constantly being "on the watch to see that they perform their duties honorably" (235). In short, Erasmus desires his ideal prince to be a modern-day Solomon—a repository of fairness, wisdom, and understanding (185)—and if his personal involvement in matters of law and his portrayal of himself in his writings as "Great Britain's Solomon" are any indication, James did his best to fulfil this vision.

James did his best to live up to another of Erasmus' prescriptions which Buchanan in turn reinforced: that the monarch should conduct financial and judicial affairs in a moderate, balanced way, following the *via media*. Erasmus felt that in matters of finance, the ideal monarch should practise moderation, "us[ing] sparingly the unlimited means which he possesses" (151). James did not follow this dictum exactly to the letter, for his often exorbitant spending illustrated to him only too clearly that as far as money went, at least, the monarch did not have "unlimited means" at his disposal. In other areas, however, James exercised the sort of moderation which Erasmus recommended. He believed that as a divinely ordained monarch he had an inviolable authority over his subjects, yet he did not always exercise this power to its full capacity, choosing often both in Scotland and in England to demonstrate his monarchical power by tempering punishment with mercy and thus striking a balance between divine authority and human clemency. For instance, his varying punishments of those involved in the "Ruthven Raid," the "Gowrie Conspiracy," and the "Gunpowder Plot" closely followed Erasmus' advice that a monarch's judicial role must be a two-fold one in which he should "strike awe into the heart of . . . evildoers and criminals; and yet even to them he should hold out a hope of leniency" (158).

Erasmus' desire for balance and moderation extends beyond the areas of finance and justice, however; in his work, he writes that the ideal monarch must be a mediating figure who at any price preserves the peace both inside and outside his borders. He defines his ideal prince as being one who will "strive his utmost to preclude any future need for the science of war," and he goes so far as to state that "a good prince should never go to war at all unless, after trying every other means, he cannot possibly avoid it" (205; 249). In this light, James, who prided himself on being the "peacemaker of Europe" with his reconciliations between religious, political, and noble adversaries in Scotland and his conclusion of an English treaty with Spain in 1604, was the exactly the sort of mediating monarch whom Erasmus and Buchanan envisioned. Considering the emphasis that

Erasmus placed on the necessity of remaining above party in the interests of justice and peace and the degree to which Buchanan impressed this lesson on his young charge, it is no surprise that in his first speech to his first English Parliament, James expressed the Erasmian wish that religious adversaries "[lay] wilfulnesse aside on both hands, [that] wee might meete in the midst" (*Speech of 1603* 140). His desire to "meete them in the mid-way" (140) would ultimately lead to his most notable attempt at religious reconciliation within his borders, the Hampton Court Conference. Given the degree to which Erasmus' principles of mediation infused his early education, it is fitting that James adopted *Beati Pacifici*—"blessed are the peacemakers"—as his personal motto, and spent much of his life trying to mediate between and reconcile opposing parties.

But James did not adhere to all of the precepts which Erasmus outlines in *The Education of a Christian Prince*. Erasmus' teachings regarding the ethics and origins of monarchy are both practical and idealistic, and James's later experience demonstrates that he did not agree with all of these dicta. Erasmus includes in his work a twelve-page section on the unethical nature of favouritism entitled "The Prince Must Avoid Flatterers" which in later life James disregarded and seems to have opposed directly. In this section, Erasmus says that "there are two periods of life which are especially susceptible to flattery: extreme youth because of its inexperience, and old age because of its weakness" (196), and James's youthful attachment to Esmé Stuart and his middle-aged devotion to George Villiers both prove Erasmus' words true and show how James disobeyed this sage warning throughout his life. In addition, James rejected other of Erasmus' assertions which are more fundamentally related to the practice of kingship. At the very beginning of his work, Erasmus allows for the possibility that a monarch might assume the throne through the non-hereditary succession of kings, and provides advice for the selection of a monarch in circumstances "when a prince is to be chosen by election" (139). In his later writings and exercise of rule, James did not admit that this selection of monarchs was even a possibility, for his conception of monarchy was based

on the theory of divine right of kings, in which monarchs were thought to have been divinely ordained into the hereditary line of succession at birth. The very idea that a king could come from another source such as election was repugnant to him; in his opinion, advice on the secular selection of a monarch was moot, and should be disregarded, if not condemned. Also contemptible in James's eyes is Erasmus' disparaging remark that hereditary succession of kings "was the usual practice with various barbarian nations of old, . . . and it is also almost universally accepted in our own times" (140). "Every Renaissance prince took a 'barbarian' pride in his ancestors" and would have been offended by Erasmus' "sly probing at inherited monarchy" (Hardin 159-60), and James was no exception. While Erasmus implies that hereditary succession is an anachronistic, almost barbarian practice, James saw himself as an avant-garde Renaissance political theorist whose kingship was linked to the past not atavistically, but rather as part of a time-honoured and divinely ordained tradition. Erasmus' work, then, in espousing several conceptions of kingship which emphasise the immorality of favouritism and the power of the subject over the ruler, provided the young James not just with positive examples of kingly morality and conduct, but also with an ethical and theoretical opposition against which he could later define his divine-right monarchical theory.

In short, Ascham's *The Scholemaster* and Erasmus' *The Education of Christian Prince* were two of the primary written texts with which James engaged both positively and negatively as a child, if not directly, then at least through Buchanan and Young, who derived much of their teachings from the two authors. Ascham, for example, provided Buchanan with a general pedagogical approach by advocating classical learning as an essential component of a noble or monarchical primary education, and in doing so, armed him with the idea that a monarch's education was more important than his birth. While as an advocate of divine-right monarchy James would later resist this idea that a king could be constructed through education rather than ordained by God, he nonetheless did demonstrate through the very act of writing *Basilicon Doron* that he believed education

to be an important component of kingship worthy of textual presentation to his sons. From Buchanan and Young's emphasis on Ascham's writing, James learned other things about monarchy such as the importance of ethical behaviour, the need for balanced and sound judgment, and the responsibility of a monarch to set an example for the nation.

James's exposure to Erasmus' work both complemented and supplemented Ascham's teachings. Buchanan, heavily reliant on the work of his fellow humanist educator, instilled a number of Erasmian teachings in James which many of his subsequent readings would reinforce: the authority inherent in the royal image, the role of the king as example to his subjects, the necessity of tempering authority with leniency, the importance of the *via media* in judgment, and the value inherent in playing the role of mediator. Erasmus' conception of the ideal anti-Machiavellian king "echoed over the next century" in the works of other political theorists and literary figures (Echard 26), but during that time manifested itself bodily in the figure of James. Erasmus devotes a section of his book to examining the difference between the tyrant and the beneficent prince, concluding that "the one is interested in his own pursuits and the other is concerned for the state" (161). He recommends that "the prince's tutor shall see that a hatred of the very words 'tyranny' and 'dominion' are implanted in the prince," and that armed with such a hatred, the prince "shall often utter diatribes against those names" (162). Buchanan evidently followed Erasmus' advice, for the degree to which Erasmus' definition and hatred of tyrants flowed through James's veins is evident in James's first speech to his English Parliament. In this speech given almost thirty years after the end of his tutelage under Buchanan, James "utters a diatribe" which echoes Erasmus' distinction between king and tyrant:

The speciall and greatest point of difference that is betwixt a rightfull King and an vsurping Tyrant is in this; That whereas the proude and ambitious Tyrant doeth think his Kingdome and people are onely ordeined for satisfaction of his desires and vnreasonable appetites; The righteous and iust King doeth by the contrary

acknowledge himselfe to bee ordeined for the procuring of the wealth and prosperitie of his people, and that his greatest and principall worldly felicitie must consist in their prosperitie. (*Speech of 1603* 143)

Such precepts were deeply ingrained within James since, as both infant king of Scotland and heir presumptive of England, he had always already been a king in training. His monarchical apprenticeship under Buchanan began when he was three years old, and as a result of such early and intense tutelage, "no [other] monarch of that age had such attention paid to him in his early years" (McCrie I: 252). A great deal of this educational attention centred on Ascham and Erasmus, and the texts of these two men, while not comprising the entirety of James's education, certainly formed the core upon which the rest of his textual training was based, and were the primary texts which instilled in him the idea of the monarch as moral exemplar, theologian, philosopher, mediator, and author.

Mark Fortier contends that James VI and I's political writings and practice in both Scotland and England exhibit a "great theoretical consistency" not simply because of the young James's adherence to certain political and religious texts, but also because of his rejection of a number of others (1267). In general, Fortier's argument is accurate in that James's engagement with the written text was a dynamic one through which he received both positive and negative influences upon his developing conception of monarchical authority. Most notably, the writings of Roger Ascham and Desiderius Erasmus—as interpreted by George Buchanan and presented by Peter Young—provided the young king with arguments for moderation, divine-right kingship, and authoritative rule which he would himself later espouse in his own political writings. As well, James found in Ascham and Erasmus negative examples of kingship against which he defined his monarchical authority after he reached majority rule. As a result, the relationship between the young king and his tutors and the authors they presented to him was one of neither unqualified adherence nor simple blind opposition. Rather, it was a more

complex one in which James engaged with his tutors and their teachings in a dialogical manner as his own sense of monarchical authority developed. In short, Buchanan, Ascham, and Erasmus acted both as valued sources of monarchical advice and as a necessary, almost profitable formative opposition for a king who was both divinely ordained and educationally constructed. While at times they served as expendable stalking-horses, at other times they also served as figures with whom James could identify as he consolidated ideas from a variety of textual sources to create a coherent theory of divine-right monarchy—a theory which he would consistently espouse and follow nearly four decades later in England. Because of their dialogical relationship with James in which they served as both ally and opposition, Buchanan, Ascham, and Erasmus are key figures through which one can begin to understand the dynamic ways in which James—a monarch who was both a creation and a creator of texts—engaged with the written text throughout his life to develop and refine his divine-right monarchical theory, to articulate it to a wider audience, and ultimately to put it into practice in both kingdoms.

Notes.

¹This title is a phrase from James's *Basilicon Doron*, a work which he argues is "onely fit for a King, as teaching him his office" (*Basilicon Doron* 4).

²Yet not all believe that Young's kindness toward the young James was sheer altruism. George Warner, for instance, argues that Young's collection of the "Apophthegmata Regis" was more an act of gross flattery than of genuine encouragement or belief in the genius of his charge: "the admiring tone in which he records in this [manuscript] the not very brilliant remarks of his royal pupil suggests that he could play the courtier as well as the pedagogue" (xiii-xiv). Sir James Melville of Halhill is equally convinced that Young realised that his best interest lay in humouring the young king. Young's reluctance to offend James, Melville believes, grew not out of any genuine concern for the potentially delicate emotional state of his student, but rather out of concern for his own welfare, for in James's presence, Young "used himself warily as a man that had mind of his own weal, by keeping of His Majesty's favour" (103). Thomas McCrie views Young's kindness in a more sinister light, arguing that by indulging James, Young ingratiated himself to the king not simply to enhance his own chances of advancement, but also to undermine Buchanan's stern authority and poison James's mind against his senior tutor (1: 256-7).

³These two poems, as well as Buchanan's elegies to Roger Ascham, appear in Buchanan's book of collected verse, *Poemata Omnia*.

**Chapter 2. "Your Best and Maist Faithfull Subjects"¹: Andrew and James Melville
as James VI and I's "Loyal Opposition"**

At Falkland Palace in early September 1596, James VI had a most telling physical encounter, an encounter along political, religious, and ideological lines with a man who was arguably both his most loyal secular subject and his most contentious ecclesiastical one: the Presbyterian minister Andrew Melville.² Near the end of August, James called a Convention of the Estates to Falkland, and in the spirit of mediation, invited the Catholic Earls of Angus, Huntly, and Errol, who had been excommunicated by the 1593 Edinburgh Provincial Assembly of the Kirk at which Melville's nephew James had served as moderator. Concerned that the reinstatement of the Catholic earls posed a threat to both king and Kirk, Andrew Melville, whose duty as a Commissioner of the General Assembly was "to sie to the dangers of the Kirk at all ocasiones, cam thither, and presented him selff with the rest" of the members of the Estates at Falkland (J. Melville 368).³ Lacking an invitation, Melville still considered himself both a loyal member of the Kirk and a loyal subject of the king, and as such "cam in [to Falkland Palace] with the formaist" members of the Estates, intending to warn James of the perceived Catholic danger. Upon seeing Melville, James angrily questioned "him that came ther uncallit" as to the purpose of his bold and unsolicited arrival. Melville responded "with plane speitche and mightie force of zeall" that those of the Estates present were traitors to God, Kirk, and country through their betrayal of the nation and religion to Spain. As for himself, he argued that he did not require royal sanction to attend, but was rather authorised to be there "be Chryst Jesus the King, and his Kirk, . . . against quhilks directlie the Conventioun is mett." James ordered Melville to leave, "[which] command [Melville] obeyit, thanking God that they haid knawin his mynd, and [that he had] gottin his message dischargit." The members of the General

Assembly—Andrew and James Melville included—then removed to Cupar and allowed the Convention to continue uninterrupted (368-9).

The subsequent decision by the Estates to consider removing the sentence of excommunication which the 1593 Provincial Assembly had placed upon the Catholic earls did not, however, convince Melville that he had successfully "gottin his message dischargit." After the dissolution of the Convention, he decided to return to Falkland Palace in early September with his nephew James and two other members of the General Assembly, Patrick Galloway and James Nicolson. Meeting with the king, whom they found to be "verie quyet," the four questioned James regarding his motives for reinstating the earls. Understanding the king's desire for reasoned and moderate discourse, James Melville began to question him "in a myld and smothe maner, quhilk the King lyked best of" (369-70). Melville's mild demeanour notwithstanding, the king's "quyet" mood immediately changed, for he "crabbotlie" interrupted his interrogator by telling him that the Assembly members had acted seditiously by coming to the Convention in the first place, by meeting at Cupar after their removal, and by questioning the king's reinstatement of the earls. At this point, an enraged Andrew Melville "brak af upon the King in sa zealus, powerfull, and unresistable a maner, that whowbeit the King used his authoritie in maist crabbit and colerik maner, yet Mr Andro bure him down" (370). Melville told James that the members of the Assembly had both come to Falkland and met at Cupar according to God's will, and since James was but "God's sillie vassal," or simple servant, they did not require his sanction in order to meet or participate in matters of state which impinged upon the Kirk. Then, with "mikle hat reasoning," he insolently took James by the sleeve and admonished him that as a temporal monarch, he had no jurisdiction over the Kirk, but must do God's bidding:

"Sir, as divers tymes before, sa now again, I mon tell yow, thair is twa Kings and twa Kingdomes in Scotland. Thair is Chryst Jesus the King, and his kingdome the

Kirk, whase subject King James the Saxt is, and of whase kingdome nocht a king, nor a lord, nor a heid, bot a member!" (370)

Having visited Buchanan and the young James at Stirling in 1574 (48), Melville had personally witnessed how the Kirk had operated independently of the king yet in his best interest during his infancy. Now, by referring to the vulnerability he had formerly seen in the infant king, he reiterated his argument that James was a member of rather than the head of the Kirk:

"Sir, when yie war in your swadling-cloutes, Chryst Jesus rang friely in this land in spyt of all his enemies, and his Officers and Ministers convenit and assemblit for the rewling and weill of his Kirk, quhilk was ever for your weilfear, defence, and perservatioun also, when thir sam enemies was seiking your destructioun and cutting af." (370-1)

Calling the Presbyterian ministers both "Chryst's servants, and [James's] best and maist faithfull subjects," he then argued that the Kirk was composed of members who deferred to the king in temporal matters but to God in ecclesiastical ones. Finally, he characterised James's policy of augmenting his authority by being "aequall and indifferent" toward factions as "deviljshe and pernitius," a practice which "in seiking of bathe [factions], . . . sall lose bathe" through its "mere and mad folie." In his opinion, the fact that James "mon be servit with all sort of men to come to [his] purpose and grandour, Jew and Gentill, Papist and Protestant" demonstrated an element of weakness on the part of the king which in turn weakened both nation and Kirk. James's response to Melville's criticism was characteristically conciliatory; he "dimitted [the ministers] pleasandlie," with the promise that the Catholic earls "sould gett na grace at his hand till they satisfeid the Kirk" (371).

This prolonged physical and verbal confrontation between Melville and James at Falkland Palace has many significant anthropological and social elements which because of their political and literary nature lend themselves readily to analysis in terms of the

theories of dialogue by which Clifford Geertz and Mikhail Bakhtin attempt to explain political and literary development. With such Geertzian inter-social and Bakhtinian inter-psyche and intertextual resonances of power and politics, the Falkland Palace episode provides a firm touchstone from which to begin a discussion of James's dynamic literary and political interaction with the two Melvilles. The incident relates to Andrew Melville's own powerful mobility—both physical and social—which allowed him to engage with the king on many occasions. Politically, the incident at Falkland demonstrates Melville's understanding of the importance of mobility in a monarch's demonstration and maintenance of royal authority, and his awareness of the necessity of a subject's restricting this mobility to restrain or control the monarch. Clifford Geertz argues in anthropological terms that a large part of a monarch's power lies not just in establishing a centre of government, but also in relating this centre to the disparate areas of the kingdom through royal progresses which "locate the society's center and affirm its connection with transcendent things by stamping a territory with ritual signs of dominance" ("Centers" 153). Examining royal progresses in Elizabethan England, fourteenth-century Java, and nineteenth-century Morocco, Geertz demonstrates that the "court-in-motion" (163) lent an element of tangibility and omnipresence to monarchical authority through a process akin to that of "some wolf or tiger spreading his scent through his territory, as almost physically part of [him]" (153). In short, Geertz argues that "the mobility of the king was thus a central element in his power" (163).

James's opponents were keenly aware of the importance of his mobility to his royal independence and power. The "Ruthven Raiders," when they abducted James in August 1582, separated him from his traditional means of mobility—his horse—and imprisoned him in Ruthven Castle, thereby immobilising him away his seat of government at Edinburgh. In addition, when the sixteen-year-old monarch burst into tears upon realising his unfortunate situation, his captors mocked him by jokingly ordering a rocking-horse for him (Akrigg 9). This jest was more than simply a comment upon his

immaturity, however. It was also a demonstration of how they had contained his mobility and the power which was inherent in it, since a rocking-horse gives the appearance of actual motion while remaining fixed in one spot—just as James at that time had a theoretical authority but no practical monarchical power. Separated from his horse and mocked by the pretended gift of a child's rocking-horse in its stead, James was a monarch whose mobile authority had been reduced to a static and illusory imitation of its former self. But when he regained his horse, he regained his liberty and some semblance of his previous monarchical authority. After his captors had moved him to Falkland Palace, he convinced them to allow him to hunt on horseback in the vicinity of the palace in June 1583. Eluding those who had been ordered to guard him, he outrode his pursuers to St Andrews and lodged at an inn there to avoid detection (Bevan 26). After he had spent ten months in the captivity of the "Ruthven Raiders," then, Falkland Palace became the site where he regained both his freedom and his mobile monarchical authority.

Ironically, a decade later, Falkland would be one of the sites where his mobility was threatened again, at the hands of both Francis Stewart, fifth Earl of Bothwell, and Andrew Melville. At large since his June 1591 escape from prison on charges of collaborating with the North Berwick witches, for two years Bothwell roamed Scotland engaging in a series of guerrilla-style attacks on James. James's ignorance as to Bothwell's actual whereabouts, coupled with the so-called "Wizard Earl's" wild unpredictability, ensured the rebel a mobile power of his own which affirms Geertz's theory that rebels who operate as moving targets "expose the weakness of the king by showing him up as unable to stop them" ("Centers" 168). That is, for both monarch and opposition, mobility entails some degree of power. In June 1592, Bothwell made a concerted effort to destroy this monarchical power by marshalling forces and storming Falkland Palace, but he was unable to gain access to James, and was forced to flee (G. Watson 103-5). A year later, Bothwell would be more successful. In a surprise attack upon Holyroodhouse in the early morning of 24 July 1593, he was able to force himself

into James's bedchamber, and, armed with a pistol and sword, hold the king hostage for the better part of the morning until he received a promise that James would withdraw the charge of witchcraft (120-4). In this instance, Bothwell was able to expose James's weakness and gain concessions largely because he "pinned him down" in the most confined and intimate of spaces: inside the palace, in his bedchamber, and in his nightgown with his "breeks in his hand" (121).

In less desperate but more dignified circumstances, Melville did the same thing to James at Falkland in September 1596. Through initiating contact with the king by speaking out of turn, he first assumed control of the discussion and reversed the conventional verbal relationship between subject and monarch. Then, in a second act of levelling, he addressed James as "Sir" rather than "your Majesty," thereby radically repositioning the king by locating him verbally in a particular place—as a gentleman equal rather than a governing monarch. Melville next diminished James's authority physically, by "taking him be the sleive" as he admonished him (J. Melville 370). Melville engaged in an illegal act of familiarity whose levelling effect was to put king and subject on an equal footing. Most importantly, Melville's action located the king in a particular space: in Falkland Palace, away from the seat of government, and within both reach and earshot. By putting James "in his place" both literally and figuratively, Melville demonstrated his understanding that the monarch's authority rested almost exclusively upon his ability to remain temporally mobile and omnipresent. The actions of the "Ruthven Raiders," Bothwell, and Melville demonstrated to James that it was not always possible to maintain his empowering bodily mobility, but in doing so, demonstrated to him also the necessity of neutralising Melville's mobility in the future, and of establishing the textual mobility of his own omnipresent image through the roving body of his political and literary writings.

Melville's altercation with James at Falkland is significant also in that it constituted a physical and verbal refutation of the king's pretensions to ruling over both Kirk and

State. On a physical level, the sheer effrontery of accosting the king by seizing his sleeve and bluntly reminding him of his subservience to God does much to characterise Melville as a contentious and outspoken figure whose firm convictions regarding the relationship between Kirk and State on the surface differed greatly from those of James. In taking the struggle for control over the body of both the Kirk and kingship to a physical level by plucking James's sleeve, Melville represents a change in the Renaissance view of monarchy similar to that exemplified by George Buchanan with his practice of corporeally punishing the young James in order to demonstrate to him that the monarch, paradoxically, is subject to his subjects. Melville's action was not simply a physical affront, but a doctrinal one as well. In saying that the monarch was "God's sillie vassal" and not "a heid, bot a member" of the Kirk, Melville expresses a Presbyterian egalitarianism with which James did not agree: that in the spiritual realm, there is no distinction between monarch and subject who are identical and equal under God. Yet Melville's angry statement that James was "God's sillie vassal" does not represent as wide a gulf between the two men's political and religious theories as it might initially seem, for as an advocate of divine-right monarchy, James would agree with Melville that the monarch was God's simple servant "in the sense of being his lieutenant" on earth (Bingham, *James VI* 138). James's agreement with Melville's sentiment, if not with the harsh words in which he expressed it, explains at least in part the suspension of Melville's punishment for words and actions which in early Tudor times would have bordered on treason in the secular realm and heresy in the religious one.

Reformation debate on the nature of monarchical authority was a relatively new practice among Renaissance monarchs. Henry VIII, for example, did not tolerate any opposition to his authority on the part of his subjects. The very act of debating monarchical power entails entering into a dialogical association with a subject, an association which by its very existence threatens that power by creating a lateral connection between monarch and subject in place of a hierarchical gulf. Sir Thomas

More—one of Henry's most eminent and learned subjects—would discover how fatal this attempted connection was, for his opposition to Henry's authority over both Church and State cost him his life. And late in Elizabeth's reign, a subject's questioning the secular and religious authority of the monarch was still punishable by death. Only five years before James's altercation with Melville at Falkland, in July of 1591, William Hacket—a provincial maltster who came to London and preached from a cart in Cheapside that he was Christ and had returned to dethrone Elizabeth—was sent "to Bridewell, though some conceived Bedlam the more proper place" for him, and eventually was executed for his claims to be the true head of both Church and State (Fuller 5: 161). Compared to the internationally schooled and publicly influential Melville, Hacket was an extreme case—a violent man who had reportedly once stabbed a portrait of the queen with his dagger and on another occasion even bitten off and eaten the nose of a schoolmaster named Freckingham in an alehouse dispute. Yet he was similar to Melville in that he was "a great stickler for the Geneva discipline" (159) which argued that the monarch was a member rather than the head of the Church. Although in this instance Hacket did not lay a hand on Elizabeth as Melville did upon James, his fate was far more horrendous; he was considered a heretic for his verbal opposition to Elizabeth's claims to secular and religious sovereignty, and in being hanged, drawn, and quartered, he died the usual death of the religious and political dissenter.

But James's Erasmian education under Buchanan made him a monarch much different from his Tudor predecessors. His toleration of Melville's apparent opposition—and even engagement with it—demonstrates his understanding of the difference between opponent and critic, and illustrates the changing Renaissance parameters of the relationship between subject and monarch. In his study of Balinese culture in Indonesia, Geertz provides an anthropological explanation for James's engagement with the political and religious "other": the figure of the constructive critic. He cites the specific example of the changing nature of Balinese Hinduism to show the

dynamic between religious ideology and its opposition. He argues that this branch of Hinduism undergoes a constant evolution in which it is challenged and forced to reassess itself by a variety of other Indonesian religions such as Protestantism, Catholicism, and even conventional Hinduism (*Interpretation* 182). In Geertz's opinion, Balinese Hinduism has not developed independently or "in a vacuum," but has defined itself in light of a series of opposing and potentially threatening doctrines. He sees this specific example as a representative one, proof of the general truth that whether religious, political, or otherwise, "ideology is a response to strain" created by opposition in any culture (219). And Melville is clearly an opponent to James on ideological grounds, grounds that respond to the strain of political power and Reformation doctrine.

The ideological response to such strain can be varied. Geertz argues that the instinctive one—characteristic of Fascism and McCarthyism—is to maintain a firm we/they dichotomy and crush the opposition or source of tension (197-8). As the examples of More and Hacket demonstrate, Henry VIII and Elizabeth I were not averse to subscribing to this intolerant but brutally effective means of defining themselves against an opposition. Yet Geertz maintains that outright rejection or repression is not the most common means of negating an ideological threat; his studies of Balinese culture have convinced him that "more often the reality of evil is accepted and characterised positively" (130-1), and thus absorbed or incorporated into the prevalent religious or political doctrine. That is, the formation of an ideology or a set of ideologies occurs in light of a necessary opposition through a dynamic process of self/other identification by which people "subsume the 'unfamiliar something' and so render it familiar" (219). With respect to Bali, Geertz makes a concise statement regarding the domestication of the threatening opposition which is equally true of Renaissance Europe:

The so-called problem of evil is a matter of formulating in world-view terms the actual nature of the destructive forces within the self and outside of it, of

interpreting murder, crop failure, sickness, earthquakes, poverty, and oppression in such a way that it is possible to come to some sort of terms with them. (130)

Geertz's argument suggests that many cultures define themselves not just in opposition to, but also in conjunction with "destructive forces" which threaten their world view or prevailing political and religious ideologies, for he says that "patterns counteractive to the primary ones exist as subdominant but nonetheless important themes in, so far as we can tell, any culture" (406). Counteractive forces such as rebel earls, Catholic nobility, Presbyterian ministers, and Reformation doctrine—James engaged with all of these and more in forging his political and religious authority.

Just as Jung argues that the perceived psychological "other" can have distinct similarities to the "self" which views it as a threat, Geertz maintains that the line separating the anthropological "self" and "other" is an indistinct one. He believes that cultures can develop their political and religious doctrines in response to the "strain" of opposition, an opposition which is not necessarily rejected outright, but which is often incorporated into the prevailing doctrines in a constant and necessarily sustained process of containment and absorption. He considers this "coming to terms" with a potentially threatening opposition by domesticating and incorporating it to be a fundamental and dynamic means by which cultures—and individual persons—define themselves. Geertz states that a society's transition from "traditional" to "modern" is "a twisting, spasmodic, unmethodical movement" (319), and one could argue that in this light, James as a mediating "textual" king was on the tenuous cusp of the traditional-to-early modern in his conduct of political and cultural affairs of state. And just as an individual or a society's transition from "traditional" to "modern" can be characterised as "spasmodic," the integration of opposing forces into the dominant political and religious ethos of any culture is a similarly indeterminate and unsystematic process. Nonetheless, the developing identity—individual or cultural, political or religious—has some degree of order to it. It is a hybrid identity built of affirmation, rejection, and containment, so that

"what a people prizes and what it fears and hates are depicted in its world view, symbolised in its religion, and in turn expressed in the whole quantity of its life" (131).

Geertz's formulation of the mingled rejection, acceptance, and qualified approval of oppositional forces by which cultures define themselves explains both James's 1596 altercation with the Melvilles and "the whole quantity" of his relationship with them and other potential threats which he faced as king. Containment and incorporation of potential opposition allowed James to consider the Melvilles not simply as threatening forces which he had to eliminate in order to consolidate his kingship, but also as necessary constructive critics—figures incomprehensible to Henry VIII and Elizabeth I—whose viewpoints he grudgingly but necessarily took into consideration as he sought to establish his rule. Unlike More or Hacket, Andrew Melville was able to survive his physical and ideological encounter with the monarch—one during which he had the audacity to call James's mediating polity "devilishe" (J. Melville 371)—because much of what lay at the root of James's relatively tolerant political and religious philosophy was the novel idea of the constructive critic, the figure who walked the fine line between traitor and patriot. Unclear though they would often prove to be, James nonetheless drew distinctions between the heretic and the religious critic, and between the traitor and the loyal but dutiful political commentator. In his opinion, opposition to monarchical policy did not necessarily entail treason, since the monarch's relationship to the apparently antagonistic subject should be one of engagement or association rather than the sort of hierarchical detachment which Henry VIII had maintained. The outcome at Falkland demonstrates James's policy of incorporating constructive criticism into his political and religious policy; though firmly opposed to the Melvilles' potentially heretical and treasonous interference in his dealings with the Catholic earls, James understood the nature of their opposition, and at least partly capitulated to their demands by agreeing that the earls "sould gett na grace at his hand till they satisfeid the Kirk." As constructive critics to the king, the Melvilles were the epitome and embodiment of the anachronistic

paradox: "His Majesty's loyal opposition." Though they might virulently oppose James regarding the relationship between Kirk and State, their belief in their duty to the monarch allowed them to assert that they were his "best and maist faithfull subjects." James's humanist education allowed him to consider both sides of the argument, understand the principle of constructive criticism, and ultimately, believe their protestation of loyalty.

James's confrontation with the Melvilles at Falkland illuminates several aspects of his policy of mediation: his reliance upon mediation in his political and religious dealings with his subjects, his specific purposes for using this strategy, and the awareness of others concerning its importance to his practice of kingship. James's resolution of the dispute between the Kirk and the Catholic earls represents a characteristic example of his mediating between parties in an attempt to find a solution satisfactory to all. In stating that he would not welcome the earls back into the Kirk without the approval of the General Assembly, he fulfilled his expressed desire to "meete [opposition] in the mid-way" (*Speech of 1603* 140) by finding the middle ground between himself and both of the disputants. To the earls, he offered no immediate lifting of the sentence of excommunication, but still extended the promise of a potential future reinstatement into the Kirk. To the Melvilles, he promised no immediate pardon for the earls as he had earlier intended, but instead gave the General Assembly a role in determining when and if the sentence should be lifted. In short, the solution which James negotiated—the promise of a future consideration of the earls' reinstatement but with the input of the General Assembly—satisfied the king, Kirk, and nobles, at least for the short term, and is a good example of his putting into practice the sort of mediation whose necessity Buchanan took such pains to instil in him. Whereas under Buchanan in the 1570s and early 1580s James was a student of the Erasmian political philosophy of mediation and reconciliation, his mediation between the Kirk and the Catholic earls demonstrates that by the 1590s, he was an experienced practitioner of this political art.

The incident at Falkland demonstrates also that it was by no means a secret that the practice of mediation had become a central aspect of James's political and religious policy. By calling James's attempts to remain "aequall and indifferent" towards disputing parties "devilishe and pernitiu," Andrew Melville pushed the limits of reasoned opposition by insinuating that the king was party to witchcraft—to James, the most serious taboo and threat to monarchical authority. In doing so, Melville expressed the sort of dissatisfaction one might expect from a man who—unlike James—"could never conciliate" in matters of controversy (Stephen and Lee, "Melville" 235). And in allowing this accusation to go unpunished, James demonstrated that his adherence to the practice of mediation was far stronger than that of Melville, who existed as the extreme "other" against whom James negotiated as he defined his own moderate political identity. In drawing attention to James's primary method of engaging with his subjects, Melville demonstrates that he—like other subjects—was acutely aware that James prized highly his role as arbitrator. But Melville was aware not just of the existence of James's process of mediation, but also of its purpose, for he stated his displeasure that James "mon be servit with all sort of men to come to [his] purpose and grandour, Jew and Gentill, Papist and Protestant." By pointing out the "grandour" which James derived from bringing together opposing factions, Melville illustrates that the self-aggrandising purpose of James's mediation—to affirm his authority by remaining above and skillfully resolving disputes—was a well-known one. And Melville's use of the verb "mon," or "must," implies an imperative on James's part—that his desire to consolidate his kingship through the authority inherent in the mediator was an integral, almost inborn aspect of his rule. In short, Melville's 1596 condemnation of James's conciliatory style of rule actively critiques the controversial, widely known, and fundamental nature of James's mediation as a means of political and religious empowerment.

The altercation at Falkland was neither the first nor last between James and the Melvilles, but was only one of many encounters—or perhaps more accurately,

"audiences"—in both Scotland and England during which the king and his two most contentious subjects personally confronted each other regarding the monarch's authority over the Church. Although the two Melvilles would place themselves in religious and political opposition to James at "divers tymes" beginning almost at the time of his birth, it would oversimplify the case to portray the two factions as entirely mutually antagonistic. Andrew and James Melville argued that as loyal secular subjects and fellow-members of the same Kirk, it was their duty to oppose the king publicly in writings, sermons, and in person. In doing so, they constituted a formative opposition for James, one against which he defined his rule at various times through outright rejection and at other times through subtle absorption and incorporation of their political and religious views. In James's opinion, and in his political practice, the Melvilles were necessary constructive "others" with whom to engage. They represented political and religious texts upon which he could sometimes inscribe his independent authority for others to see, while at other times he could interpret and absorb their opposition for the benefit of his kingship. Geertz states that "the elements of a culture's own negation are with greater or lesser force, included within it" (*Interpretation* 406), and this is certainly true of James's "culture of kingship." James's theory and practice of monarchy owed a great deal to the Melvilles, whose prolonged and intense textual engagement with him was a form of constructive criticism which both positively and negatively helped him sharpen his vision of himself as a divinely ordained and mediating monarchical authority.

As Presbyterian ministers and published social commentators, Andrew and James Melville had a long history as almost archetypal and anthropological others with whom James engaged as he defined his political and religious monarchical theory. Almost from the time of his birth, James's life was academically and politically entwined with those of the two Melvilles, who were themselves so closely connected to each other that they existed almost as a single entity. Orphaned as a child and subsequently raised in the Baldovoy household of his older brother Richard (who was James Melville's father),

Andrew was only ten years older than his nephew, and the two bore such a physical resemblance that James Melville was to comment that "ther is nane, that is nocht utherwayes particularlie informed, bot taks me for Mr Andro's brother" (15). Based upon more than simply closeness in age and similarity in appearance, however, their intimate connection had a firm psychological grounding, as demonstrated by James Melville's *Autobiography*. The work's very existence and the affectionate tone in which James records the events of his uncle's life make the text almost the work of an admiring younger brother than that of an impartial observer. James records that this deep affection he had for his uncle was a reciprocal one, for he states that the care with which Andrew supervised his early education demonstrated that he was a sort of surrogate son for his uncle who never married and had a family of his own (40).

Andrew's concern for his nephew's academic welfare continued even after he returned to Scotland from the Continent in 1574. In November of that year, Andrew brought James—to that point a student following in his uncle's footsteps at Montrose and then the University of St Andrews—with him when he became Principal of the College of Glasgow. By 1575, under the supervision of his uncle, James Melville began studying Hebrew and theology and teaching Greek grammar as well as courses in Greek of geometry, arithmetic, logic, and rhetoric. In 1580, when Andrew left Glasgow to assume the position of Principal of the New College at St Andrews, he again provided for his nephew, assuring him a posting at St Andrews as Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages, a position which the younger Melville held until 1586 (J. Melville, *Autobiography* 53-5). As academics, then, the two Melvilles had long and parallel careers which undoubtedly afforded them the ability to engage on an academic level with their scholarly king.

The Melvilles did not simply have an academic life in common, however, for both were active ecclesiastical figures for most of their lives as parish ministers and members of the General Assembly of the Kirk. After leaving St Andrews, James Melville became

minister of the parish of Anstruther-Wester in 1586, and in 1590 became minister of the parish of Kilrenny, where he served until the time of his imprisonment in England in 1607 (Pitcairn xiii). Like his nephew, Andrew Melville remained a scholar and ecclesiastic committed to the reformed Kirk for the rest of his life. As principal of Glasgow and then the New College, he was unable to perform a number of ecclesiastical duties such as administer the Sacraments except during his three-year tenure at the parish kirk of Govan during his final years at Glasgow. As an academic interpreter of scripture, however, he could function as a pastor in a number of other respects: preaching, serving in the courts of the Kirk, determining and dispensing Kirk discipline, and overseeing seminaries. Most importantly, since by his time professors of divinity were allowed to participate in Kirk government, in his public role as principal of two colleges, Melville could take an active role in shaping the Kirk by functioning as a member of presbyteries, synods, and the General Assemblies to which the king also belonged (McCrie 1: 92-3). Though he ministered to a parish only for a short time, by virtue of his being professor of divinity first at Glasgow and then at St Andrews he was in theory an ecclesiastical office-bearer and public figure in the Kirk, and thus, like his nephew, occupied a strong academic and ecclesiastical position from which to shape both Kirk policy and public opinion. He shared more than ecclesiastical office with his nephew, however; he also shared a fervent devotion to Presbyterianism which led him to a sort of martyrdom, for both Melvilles died as exiled but virulent opponents of monarchical involvement in the Kirk—James at Berwick in 1614, and Andrew at Sedan in 1622. The Melvilles' relationship to each other, then, was a longstanding and multifaceted one based on strong familial, psychological, academic, and religious grounds. As a result, uncle and nephew were as one to such a degree that throughout their lives, any academic and religious engagement which James Stuart had with one Melville necessarily entailed interaction with the other.

James's engagement with the Melvilles began early due to their close academic interaction with his tutor, George Buchanan. While a student at St Andrews in the early 1560s, Andrew Melville composed some verses to George Buchanan which referred to Buchanan as "my master," and Thomas McCrie cites these verses composed during one of Buchanan's illnesses as evidence that Melville at one point received instruction from the great classicist who would later tutor the king (1: 15). Buchanan may very well have instructed Andrew Melville in classical languages, for by the time Melville left Scotland in 1564 to study divinity and Hebrew at the University of Paris, he was, in the words of his admiring nephew, "the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian, of anie young maister in the land" of Scotland (39). Upon his 1574 return to Scotland, Melville's connection to Buchanan—and thus James—became even more pronounced, as Buchanan advised Regent Morton to offer Melville a position as a tutor to the young king, an offer which Melville refused (45).

Despite refusing this post and instead accepting that of Principal of the College of Glasgow, Melville maintained academic contact with Buchanan and took an interest in the young king's education. On his way to Glasgow to assume his new position in November 1574, he brought his nephew to visit the king at Stirling and at that time, Andrew "conferret at lynthe with Mr George Bowchanan" regarding the progress both of the king's education and of Buchanan's forthcoming *Rerum scoticarum historia* (48). Further evidence exists of Andrew and Buchanan's having known each other personally on an academic level. In September 1581, "heiring that Mr George Buchanan was weak, and his Historie under the press," the Melvilles visited the ailing Buchanan at Edinburgh, at which time Andrew made some final suggestions for the book which he had first seen seven years before (120-1). Although no solid evidence exists to prove Melville's direct educational association with Buchanan, the two seem to have maintained an academic relationship for at least two decades, which invariably brought Melville into direct contact with the young king. This early personal scholarly and ecclesiastical connection

between James Stuart and Melville through the person of Buchanan, coupled with the distinct possibility that the two were both educated in a similar manner under Buchanan, perhaps explains some of the academic, religious, and political affinities between James and the Melvilles despite their apparent mutual antagonism.

James must have respected Andrew Melville's forceful method of debate, his international profile, and his prodigious scholarly training which rendered him both a divine and a professional scholar—something which James could never be but deeply admired in his vocation as a philosopher-king. Nonetheless, a great deal of antagonism existed between them, stemming largely from Melville's course of religious study on the Continent. In 1569, Melville began a five-year tenure teaching at the Academy of Geneva, and, like Peter Young, studying under Jean Calvin's successor, the professor of divinity Theodore Beza. At Geneva, Melville was an ardent disciple of Beza, for according to his nephew, "he hard Beza his daylie lessons and preatchings" (42). In 1574, at the urging of a number of figures concerned with the state of the Kirk in Scotland, Melville decided to return home. James Melville, by this time studying at the University of St Andrews, had written to him, urging him to return. This appeal had been seconded by Alexander Campbell, Bishop of Brechin, whose tutor Andrew Polwart had visited Melville in Geneva and had recommended to Campbell that Melville's reforming zeal could be better put to use in his native land. In 1574, then, Melville returned to Edinburgh carrying a letter of introduction to the General Assembly from Beza himself which stated that the act of depriving itself of Melville by returning him to Scotland to enrich his Presbyterian colleagues was "the graittest taken of affection the Kirk of Genev could schaw to Scotland" (42-3). And so "one of the most conspicuous characters of that age" (Irving 478)—at least as far as James Stuart was concerned—returned to Scotland and a lifetime of religious and political engagement with the king.

Much of this engagement occurred in the forum of the General Assembly, where their interaction with James reveals, in general terms, the Melvilles' characters and formative

religious and political views. Andrew Melville was a devout Calvinist who was in favour of egalitarianism in the Kirk, in contrast to the king, who supported the hierarchical office of bishops as a means of helping to subjugate the Kirk and bring it under state control. For example, Melville supervised the drawing up of the 1578 *Presbyterian Second Book of Discipline* which eliminated the episcopacy and was ratified by the Kirk in 1581. As a result of his involvement in the project, he earned the nickname in the General Assembly of "*Episcoporum exactor*, the flinger out of Bischopes" (J. Melville 52)—a title which carried within it an implicit threat to James's religious policy. Melville could be a cool reasoner, but when firmly convinced of his position regarding the king's authority—or lack thereof—over the Kirk,

he was accustomed to maintain it tenaciously and boldly; [and] would suffer no man, whatever his rank or authority might be, to bear away the point in dispute; but defended his opinions with an overwhelming force and fluency of language, accompanied with uncommon energy of voice and vehemence of gesture.

(McCrie 1: 74)

His nephew further records that in both his criticism and defense of religious policy, Andrew was excitable and combative, and deferred to no authority but God's: "Being sure of a truethe in reasoning, he wald be extream hat, and suffer na man to bear away the contrar; bot with reasone, words, and gesture, he wald carrie it away, caring for na persone, whow grait soever they war, namlie, in maters of relligion" (67). John Spottiswoode sums up Melville nicely by saying that he was "hot and eager upon anything he went about" (275),⁴ and Melville's behaviour on numerous occasions in the presence of James VI illustrates his excitable and persistent nature. Until he had "gottin his message dischargit" to his satisfaction as he did at Falkland, "he wald nocht ceas nor keipe sylence" (J. Melville 67), and until his death in 1622, this tenacity and lack of respect for the king's authority in the Kirk frequently brought him into contact and conflict with James.

As a professional humanist and clerical disputant with a charismatic personality and an eloquence which almost forced others to feel his presence and have their opinions shaped by it, Melville constituted a powerful public opposition to the king in the Assembly. In doing so, he helped determine monarchical and religious policy to a considerable extent; Gordon Donaldson argues with good reason that although lesser-known than John Knox, Andrew Melville "is to be remembered as the real founder of Scottish Presbyterianism" due to his continued and vocal personal defence of the Kirk against James's monarchical authority (44). With his close and frequent contact with James and his vehement rejection of the monarch's spiritual authority, Melville represented a powerfully negative but also formative opposition, influencing James's political and religious policy by serving as a religious and political "other" against whom James necessarily defined himself in order to demonstrate and establish his monarchical power.

In many ways, James Melville provided a moderate counterbalance to his bombastic uncle, for he generally conducted himself in a more temperate manner than Andrew did. His "myld and smothe maner," for example, made him the natural choice to initiate discussion with the king at Falkland (J. Melville 369-70). Thomas McCrie argues that the younger Melville's self-control in light of the "impetuosity of temper which [Andrew] was not always able to command, and was sometimes unwilling to restrain" meant that the two men "differed in mental temperament, perhaps as widely as ever two individuals did who were united by the closest and most inviolable friendship" (1: 61). This fundamental difference in temperament aside, James Melville was just as firm a believer in the egalitarian nature of the Kirk as Andrew was, for while imprisoned at Newcastle in 1607, he "unhesitatingly rejected" the king's offer of a bishopric in exchange for his liberty (Pitcairn xviii). Since Melville was less extreme than his uncle, King James believed that he might be more pliable and thus tempted to accept the offer, calling him "a good simple man" who could be easily influenced (xx). When it became apparent that

he was not so pliable, Melville was convinced that the king viewed his quiet opposition as more insidious and therefore more dangerous than his uncle's open antagonism. According to Calderwood, Melville—a published author who was more “bookish” than his uncle and therefore potentially dangerous to a king who was keenly aware of the enduring power of the printed word—was “assured at this time, that the King hated him worse than any Scottish man; because he crossed all his designs, and was a ringleader to others” (481).⁵ It is likely that the king had more of a quarrel with Andrew Melville due to his virulent, vocal, and even physical opposition to James's monarchical policy with respect to the Kirk, but one should not underestimate the degree to which James Melville allied with his uncle to provide a strong formative opposition to the king. Both men were firmly convinced that James Stuart was their equal in the Kirk, an equal whom they were to instruct and assist in the implementation of religious policy. Moreover, through their vocal distinction between state and religious authorities, they helped spearhead the Presbyterian movement which sought to ensure that “the authority of Crown or Parliament over the Church was firmly rejected” (Donaldson 44).

Yet it is not entirely accurate to characterise the Melvilles simply as oppositional figures with respect to James; as Protestant ecclesiastics, they were not so different from him at a fundamental religious and political level. Although they might disagree with him on the role of bishops and the nature of the monarch's relationship to the Kirk, as committed Protestants they shared with him a desire to preserve the independence of the reformed religion to which they all considered themselves loyal. How independent the Kirk was to be from the monarch's secular authority was the point of contention, however, and on this front James and the Melvilles had their most heated and defining engagements. While they refused to capitulate to James regarding the degree to which his monarchical authority extended into the Kirk, the Melvilles did not contest that authority in the temporal realm. In the introduction to his *Autobiography*, for example, James Melville expresses temporal devotion to the king by saying that “all thanks and

praise may be giften to his Majestie, all haill and alleanerlie" (3), and as noted previously, Andrew Melville considered himself and his nephew to be James's "'best and maist faithfull subjects'" in the secular world (371). The *Dictionary of National Biography* entry on Andrew Melville supports this assertion while also making the point that his secular loyalty was an extreme and radical one necessary for any administration: "His ideas were patriotic and statesmanlike, but his action was too little under restraint" and was often accompanied by "a fierce stream of mordant invective" (Stephen and Lee, "Melville" 235). In short, the two Melvilles believed that their attempted exclusion of the monarch from the operation of the Kirk was a necessary and desperate act of religious and political loyalty which, in keeping the reformed national religion free from monarchical interference, preserved its purity and at the same time protected the inviolable and undiluted secular authority of the monarch.

Being scholars, the two Melvilles had an academic affinity with James not usually apparent in the political class. Although they did not agree with his desire to use the episcopacy as a means of maintaining control over the Kirk, they did respect the degree of learning which he exhibited both as a child and as an adult. While travelling to Glasgow in October 1574, the Melvilles stopped at Stirling to visit Buchanan and assess the progress of James's education. Seeing the eight-year-old king walking about holding the hand of Lady Mar and discoursing "of knowledge and ignorance," the two visitors were filled, according to James Melville, with "grait mervell and estonishment." He concluded that the young king was "the sweetest sight in Europe that day, for strange and extraordinar gifts of ingyne, judgment, memorie, and langage" (48). While in later days James would not be as sweet a sight for the Melvilles in light of his religious policies, a mutual academic respect and understanding did exist between the king and his contentious subjects. On James's part, this respect grew out of his being an amateur scholar in the truest sense of the word, a scholar who had a deep admiration for international men of professional learning such as the French humanists du Bartas and

Isaac Casaubon, who in turn visited the king in Scotland and England, respectively. By the same token, James had an immense respect for the internationally renowned scholarship of Andrew Melville, a minister who in 1587 would impress the poet du Bartas with his argumentative abilities (J. Melville 256-7), and in the early 1600s would undertake an academic correspondence with Casaubon (McCrie 2: 99). James and Melville's many political and religious engagements—and the one at Falkland in particular—might become heated and even physical, but were usually underpinned by a grudging respect for each other and an understanding of the scholarly and neo-Platonic humanist process of dialogue.

This dialogical process is central to Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of the interactionist development of literary and political ideas, and relates also to Geertz's anthropology in terms of self/other construction of meaning. Like Geertz with his analysis of the changes that Balinese Hinduism constantly undergoes in the face of competing religions, Bakhtin too considers the engagement of opposing viewpoints to be a necessary and unavoidable component of the evolution of the psychological, political, or even literary self. His inclusive approach to scholarship is characterised by "its accommodation of difference and awareness of presumption" (Bowers, "Bakhtin" 565). As a result, his theory of literary and cultural criticism which arises out of this approach encourages the reader to account for the "various different points of view, conceptual horizons, systems for providing expressive accents, [and] various social 'languages' [which] come to interact with one another" and thus together begin to form embryonic but necessarily incomplete political or literary attitudes (Bakhtin, *Dialogic* 282). Rick Bowers argues that both Bakhtin's scholarly approach and his investigations of individual ideological engagements are characterised by an understanding of the existence of a "mutual tolerance" between opposites ("Bakhtin" 565). The idea of "mutual tolerance" leads Bakhtin to argue that through engagement with each other, opposing ideologies can despite their fundamental differences become "very tightly interwoven with each other,

becoming almost indistinguishable" (Bakhtin, *Dialogic* 283). Bakhtin's analysis of literary and political development in terms of competing and reconciling ideologies does much to explain James VI's humanist engagement with the Melvilles in their role as constructive critics. Through delineating the process by which opposing ideologies merge and interweave, Bakhtin sheds light on the way in which James tolerated and even encouraged the often presumptuous opposition of the Melvilles for the sake of preserving a distinguishable and constructive difference out of which grew his theory of monarchy.

For Bakhtin, difference and its mediation are everything. In stating that "one is impossible without the other" (*Dialogic* 282), he suggests that the self exists only in terms of a perceived other since the figure of the "other" is an imperative—something with which one must engage in a constant and constructive process of self-definition and redefinition. He argues that with respect to an unfamiliar written word, there must exist on the part of the reading subject "an active understanding, one that assimilates the word under consideration into a new conceptual system" and "establishes a series of complex inter-relationships, consonances and dissonances with the word and enriches it with new elements" (282). The implication for one's encounter with an alien political ideology is clear: the ability to interpret it, comprehend its difference, and reconcile it to one's own political theory is a crucial and productive mediation between self and other. With his acknowledgement of difference and the process of mediation which reconciles it to some degree, Bakhtin ventures into the area which James VI called the "mid-way" (*Speech of 1603* 140), where extreme opinions—or the self and the other—interact:

Bakhtin's neohumanist analysis and philosophy involves a radical accommodation of otherness where extremes are constantly mediated, discovering the interplay between polar positions as most important." (Bowers, "Bakhtin" 567)

Similarly, James's humanist education under Buchanan allowed him to accommodate otherness. Armed with a desire to effect mediation and encourage constructive criticism

by dialogically engaging with his expressed opposition, he sought to facilitate the interplay of ideas which takes place in the middle ground between extremes. Bowers states that in Bakhtin's theory, "everything is in process, and Bakhtin is found always in the middle of it" ("Bakhtin" 573). The same is true of James, for with respect to his political opponents in general—and perhaps the Melvilles in particular—he expresses his desire that he "might meete [them] in the midst, which is the Center and perfection of all things" (*Speech of 1603* 140) and thereby create something constructive out of the tension between himself and a political and religious other.

By stating that according to Bakhtin's theory "everything is in process," Bowers makes a point which clarifies Geertz's idea of the "twisting, spasmodic, unmethodical" (*Interpretation* 319) dialogue between ideologies. Within the anthropological dialogue which Geertz outlines, the self is never complete, permanent, or self-created, but rather is in a constant state of flux and redefinition in relation to an other which is itself not entirely defined. Similarly, in Bakhtin's dialogical process of reading, "another's word will be the subject of passionate communication, an object of interpretation, discussion, evaluation, rebuttal, support, further development and so on" (Bakhtin, *Dialogic* 337). Bakhtin's use of the phrase "and so on" is deliberate, for he believes the literary dialogue between self and other to be a continuous and unending one. Like the process by which molecules continually combine and recombine to form often volatile new substances which may nonetheless have some of the original properties of their constituents, the Bakhtinian dialogical process is always deep-rooted, almost imperceptible, and in a constant state of dynamic creation: "dialogue moves into the deepest molecular and, ultimately, subatomic levels" (Bakhtin, *Dialogic* 300). Bowers sums up Bakhtin's theory of the fundamental and constantly evolving nature of the dialogue between ideologies by stating that "self and other are mutually contingent and constantly undergoing change," and he cites Bakhtin's statement of the relativity, dialogism, and impermanence of the self to underline the point: "I cannot manage without another, I cannot become myself

without another, I must find myself in another by finding another in myself (in mutual reflection and mutual acceptance)'" ("Bakhtin" 566). In light of Bakhtin's statement, one could argue that James "could not manage" without the Melvilles as other, and through his "acceptance" of their differences from him, continually attempted to define a necessarily incomplete and ultimately unrealised identity of himself as monarch.

Bakhtin's most telling analysis of the relationship between self and other as one might apply it to James and the Melvilles is his examination of carnival in his book *Rabelais and His World*. In the work of Rabelais, Bakhtin sees clowns or fools and ritually crowned mock kings as examples of ironic others who both question and are at the same time tolerated and even licensed by the existing political authority. He argues that this continual dialogue between established authority and potentially subversive opposition is not present in Rabelais' work alone, but is evident "in the very structure of Renaissance writings" (*Rabelais* 275), writings which in turn existed "against the background of a living and still powerful tradition" of carnival (60). According to Bakhtin, carnival both as represented in literature and as evident in Renaissance society itself "bestowed upon both thought and word the most radical freedom" (273). In light of James's humanist adherence to the principle of dialogue and engagement with opposing perspectives, the Melvilles obtained this sort of "radical freedom" by playing the role of the rogue but tolerated other. More autonomous and politically motivated than Touchstone in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, they nonetheless operated in a similar manner from the periphery as a sort of licensed opposition in a continuing dialogue with the king regarding monarchical authority in the Kirk. Armed with this freedom to engage in dialogue, they were able to act and speak like the carnivalesque figures whom Bakhtin examines—in "a language with no reservations and omissions, about the world and about power" (269). One of Bakhtin's most telling statements is that there exists "the right to be 'other' in this world, the right not to make common cause with any single one of the existing categories that life makes available" (*Dialogic* 159). James afforded the

nonconformist Melvilles this "right" by engaging with them, just as he did Thomas Middleton in 1624 by stopping the production of Middleton's anti-Spanish play *A Game at Chess* only after the Spanish Ambassador Gondomar complained about his portrayal in the work. For a monarch who was known as "the wisest fool in Christendom," sanction—or at least toleration—of the "fool" or nonconformist was an important humanist aspect of rule. And as a nonconformist monarchical critic, Andrew Melville believed that his radical opposition was his most loyal service to James. James must have understood and sustained this paradox, or Melville would not have gone unpunished for words and acts of dissent such as those he displayed at Falkland. In short, although they might disagree on specific aspects of Kirk/State relations, their relationship was more one of collusion than of collision. They could interact on an academic yet carnivalesque dialogical level, and it is through these textual and personal interactions that the Melvilles helped James define his political and religious policies as monarch.

Julia Kristeva uses the idea of "intertextuality" to refine Geertz and Bakhtin's dialogical model of cultural and literary development, and this concept helps to account for the literary evolution of James's political theory in response to the Melvilles as political others. On the surface, her definition of intertextuality is a complex one:

The term *intertextuality* denotes this transposition of one (or several) sign-systems(s) into another; but since this term has often been understood in the banal sense of study of sources, we prefer the term *transposition* because it specifies that the passage from one signifying system to another demands a new articulation of the thetic—of enunciative and denotative positionality."

("Revolution" 111)

In simpler terms: she means that uncovering the relationship between written texts entails more than merely delineating one work's influence upon another. In her view, this relationship operates at a level beyond that of words alone, so that the composition of a text involves a radical reappraisal and articulation of the self in terms of another's works

or actions: the creation of a new textual self in light of a dialogical engagement with an other whose discourse is incorporated into the new work. In saying that the intertextual process of writing is one which "involves an altering of the *thetic position*—the destruction of the old position and the formation of a new one" (111), she argues that the "thetic position"—one's perception of the difference between self and other—is redefined so that the new text takes the often opposing discourse of its predecessor into account. For her, the process of writing is a dialogical one in which the "transposition of . . . [existing] sign-systems" into the new work entails the constant creation and re-creation of a hybrid literary identity composed of both self and other. Simply put, "any text is the absorption and transformation of another," and the intertextual sphere is one in which "two texts meet, contradict and relativize each other" ("Word" 37; 49). Or, to engage anagrammatically with Kristeva's key term in this phrase—a process which in the Renaissance involved its own deep intertext—one could argue that the intertextual sphere is one in which two texts meet, contradict and *revitalize* each other.

In light of Bakhtin and Kristeva's theories of literary dialogue, one can view James—as well as his political theory and writings—not simply as texts, but also as intertexts whose "thetic position" was constantly challenged, enlivened, and redefined through engagement with other political structures, works, and figures. Like Tennyson's Ulysses who dualistically states, "I am a part of all that I have met" (Tennyson line 18), James too is a dynamic figure, one whose articulations of monarchical authority both influenced and were influenced by others through his dialogical engagements with them. Fully aware of what Rick Bowers terms the "intellectual cross-fertilization and cultural exchange afforded by the printed text" ("Phaer" 27), James imparted a sort of "hybrid vigour" to his kingship by ensuring that his dialogical engagement with his opposition was rooted in several sources: George Buchanan's teachings on the importance of mediation and of following the *via media*; the contemporary neo-Platonic humanist focus on dialogue; and Renaissance engagement with the potentially subversive elements of

carnival. All of these dialogical forces manifest themselves in James's interactions with the Melvilles, with the result that his political identity as represented in his works and actions was an ever-evolving one created in part by his rejection, repression, and even acceptance of and affiliation with their oppositional views. Both his actions and printed works as king provoked strong vocal and textual responses in the Melvilles, responses which in turn forced him to re-evaluate and re-articulate his monarchical position. In this way, his identity and political practice as king had a powerful literary underpinning, being both developed and expressed through an intertextual dialogue fuelled by his identification—or at least engagement—with the Melvilles as a political and religious other. In short, during the entire period of James's Scottish rule to 1603—and even in the early part of his English rule after 1603—both his word and the monarchical theory which it articulated were intertextually co-created and developed in a longstanding political, religious, physical, and textual dialogue with the Melvilles.

How this textual dialogue helped James to create his political identity relates to Stephen Greenblatt's examination of the way in which a number of other Renaissance figures used authorship to help forge their identity. In his book *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, Greenblatt studies literary figures such as Sir Thomas More, Edmund Spenser, and William Shakespeare, who were not born with titles, and whom he characterises as "middle-class" (9). His conclusion is that these authors used their writings to establish for themselves some form of personal or psychological order, as well as a firm individual place within the larger political hierarchy. To some extent, the same is true of James, although he does not fit Greenblatt's criterion of being a "middle-class" author. Nor was James a figure who needed to establish a personal or psychological order, since these had been formed for him almost from birth with Buchanan's tutelage. On a psychological level, however, one could quite easily interpret James's authoritative representations of himself as attempts to reassure himself and overcome his own personal and political insecurities. In this light, James's interest in

monarchical tracts as a youth and his subsequent authoring of works which espoused his divinely ordained authority over his subjects might have acted "as a compensation for his actual weakness" in the face of the stern Buchanan (Kernan 93).

While James's articulations of royal authority may have constituted some sort of attempt to create a personal order for himself, this chapter is concerned with his political rather than psychological state. Since its focus is on James as monarch, any discussion of his affirmation of place in the political hierarchy immediately brings into question the entire political order because his position at its top determined its very nature throughout. This chapter therefore explores the political self-fashioning of a Renaissance monarch whose evolving ideas and written articulations of his power would eventually inscribe themselves upon the political order in both Scotland and England. It examines James's development into a divine-right (or perhaps divine-write) monarch who eventually created and engaged with various audiences by disseminating multiple images of himself as a divinely ordained, mediating, ordering, and generally authoritative monarch.

In the 1580s and 90s, James's most productive intertextual political dialogue was with the two Melvilles. In large part, this extended dialogical interaction took place in a written forum, since both Melvilles were published authors; to some degree, however, the Melvilles acted as performative political and religious texts rather than created written ones, since the body of their published work—particularly that pertaining directly to James VI and his involvement in the Kirk—is quite small. Andrew Melville, for example, published very few works during his lifetime despite the fact that he showed great promise as a Latin poet, and because of this remained more a member of the loyal chorus than a leading member of the "smoky smiths" who composed poetry for and with the king in the 1570s and 80s. Thomas McCrie argues that Melville's 1573 *Carmen Mosis*, a Latin poetical paraphrase of the "Song of Moses," is a work whose beauty of language and elegance of execution rival anything which Buchanan himself ever wrote (1: 88). James Melville records that the *Carmen Mosis* "put all men in hope of graitter warks"

(63), but Andrew followed up this 1573 work with only occasional Latin verse publications: his 1590 "Stephaniskion" which is an ode upon the coronation of Queen Anne, and his 1594 ode upon the birth of Prince Henry, "Principis Scoti-Britannorum Natalia."

Although publicly influential from the pulpit, Melville published none of his sermons, and in fact, very few other political and religious works. In 1599, he published the political work *Scholastica diatriba*, and 1604 saw the publication of a religious treatise called *Pro supplici Evangelicorum Ministrorum in Anglia--Apologia, sive Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria*. His only other extant works are epigrams, epistles, and satires reprinted in James Melville's *Autobiography*, as well as private letters which survive among James Melville's papers in a manuscript volume at the University of Edinburgh entitled *Melvini Epistolae*. His most important and most lasting publication--the one which began his textual interaction with James--is the 1578 *Presbyterian Second Book of Discipline*, whose composition he supervised, but in which his actual writings are indistinguishable from those of the other contributors. Because his published works were few, Andrew Melville's intertextual engagements with James VI will be examined within the context of his more frequent personal and physical confrontations with the king.

James Melville's published works also are overshadowed by his existence as a political and religious text with respect to James VI. During his lifetime, the younger Melville's engagement with the king relied more on personal interaction and private writings than on published works. He left few published political and religious texts which directly addressed the issue of monarchical authority in the Kirk. 1592 saw his first publication, a book of anti-Catholic verse called *The Description of the Spainyarts' Naturall, out of Julius Scaliger, with sum Exhortationes for warning of Kirk and Countrey*, and in 1597 he produced "Ane fruitful and comfortable exhortatioune anent death." His only other work to be published during his lifetime is a 1598 book of

religious verse directed at his parishioners and entitled *A Spirituall Propine of a Pastour to his People*. His other writings—personal letters, poems written during his imprisonment in England, and his “Lamentation in name of the kirk of Scotland”—existed only in manuscript form until well after his death. Even to this day, his writings have not been collected in any volume other than the *Melvini Epistolae* manuscript. Like his uncle, James Melville relied on his spoken word and physical presence more than on his printed word to influence the king’s religious policy, and the remainder of this chapter will examine his written works as part of the larger legacy of personal constructive criticism by which he is best known.

Given the Melvilles’ lack of emphasis on publication, it is fitting to examine their written texts not on their own, but in conjunction with their personal engagements with the king—engagements which, in their frequency and effect, often eclipsed their published works. The fact that Andrew Melville’s published works—which for the most part do not address the question of monarchical authority in the Kirk—are all in Latin provides a potential explanation for his limited number of publications. As a preacher and speechmaker in the General Assembly, he relied exclusively on Scottish vernacular, perhaps seeing it as a more inclusive mode of expression than Latin, which as a spoken as well as a written language could be understood only by a select audience. Melville viewed the printed word as an almost exclusively Latin entity aimed primarily at academics and theologians; as an avowed Presbyterian espousing egalitarianism in the Kirk, he chose instead to express himself in a more widely understood and inclusive public manner: the oral vernacular in which the *Second Book of Discipline* was written. James VI would respond in kind, using the vernacular to engage with Melville both in person and eventually in writing through *Basilicon Doron*, and this linguistically egalitarian dialogue placed both men on the cutting edge of the Reformation and early modern era with its emphasis on public vernacular expression in favour of the Latin.

James Melville provides another explanation in his *Autobiography* as to why his uncle—and presumably he himself—left so few published works. He says that Andrew “wes wount to say, *Scribillantium et scripturientium turba*”—that he found writing to be a disruptive force to him. Instead of preparing works for publication, “he thought the tyme maist profitablie bestowit in doing, teatching, and framing of guid instruments for the meaintenance of the treuthe” (63). Melville’s emphasis on the idea of “tyme” is significant, for given the difficulties inherent in composing, proofreading, and printing a work, and then distributing and selling it to a public which could not always easily afford to buy it, his choice of words shows that he considered spoken public sermons and speeches in the General Assembly to be a far more effective means of reaching an audience than any published work. If time was of the essence—as he believed it was—in shaping the opinions of his countrymen and king, then it is not surprising that he devoted little of it to producing written texts.

Instead, he focused his energy on the act of “doing”—that is, on maintaining a level of active personal involvement in the political and ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland which he felt he could not do through the lasting but impersonal act of writing. James Melville even declares that Andrew’s preoccupation with acting as an audible rather than legible voice for the Kirk ultimately “moved him to neglect wraitting, except of verses and epigrammes, as his humor and ocasioness moved him” (63). As a vocal Presbyterian minister and academic whose primary means of public communication was through his preaching, Andrew was of the opinion “that God haid callit him to use his tounge and vive voice” rather than his pen to outline and defend the tenets of the Kirk (279). As a result, his reputation as a reformer—as well as his political and religious influence upon the king—“does not rest on his writings” (McCrie 2: 331) so much as upon his physical and verbal interaction with James VI on behalf of the Kirk.

Stephen Greenblatt argues that scholars must display “an intensified willingness to read all of the textual traces of the past with the attention traditionally conferred only on

literary texts" (*Curse* 14), and seen in this light, the Melvilles' numerous engagements with the king deserve as much examination as any written texts they created. Their involvement in the development of the *Presbyterian Second Book of Discipline*, their longstanding vocal opposition to the episcopacy, their ongoing defence of Presbyterian preaching, their opposition to James's own written works—each of these has textual aspects which extend beyond the written word itself and demand thorough historicist examination. Consequently, the remainder of this chapter examines the Melvilles as critics of James VI whose ongoing but ultimately transformative opposition influenced the king's theory and practice of monarchy. In his 1599 *Basilicon Doron*, James would argue that a monarch must have his writings "censured by some of the best skilled men in that craft" (55), and his longstanding political and religious engagement with the "skilled" Melvilles in the decades prior to 1599 demonstrates that he followed this process of dialogue long before he ever articulated it in writing. With both their production of written texts and their existence as vocal bodily ones which the king interpreted, inscribed himself upon, and absorbed within himself, the Melvilles engaged with James in an intertextual, mutually informative dialogue which influenced his conception of the monarch's authority with respect to the Kirk.

The Melvilles' primary means of entering into this dialogue with James—and the work around which one can thematically examine their engagements with the king—was the *Presbyterian Second Book of Discipline*. The *Second Book of Discipline* was in large part Andrew Melville's direct intertextual response to the Crown's 1572 attempt to clarify the controversial and ill-defined role of the episcopacy—and hence the monarch—in the Kirk. The recent history of the Scottish episcopacy had been a turbulent one. With the 1561 implementation of what would later be called the *Presbyterian First Book of Discipline*, the new Presbyterian Kirk was operated by ministers at the local level and by the General Assembly at the national level, and the office of bishops was substantially altered. In place of this Catholic office which had formerly performed

many administrative functions and acted as an intermediary between monarch and Kirk, the *First Book of Discipline* established the office of "superintendent," a limited form of the episcopacy which, as an ecclesiastical position only, could exert no secular royal influence upon the Kirk (Kirk 10). Having been commissioned by the Protestant lords in the provisional government and quickly ratified when it became apparent that Mary Stuart would be returning from France, however, the *First Book of Discipline* was created "on the assumption that the new church would operate in partnership with the new state" (11). As a result, despite its theoretical abolition of the civil and ecclesiastical episcopacy, it did not completely sever the connection between Kirk and State.

It had, however, sufficiently weakened the connection to alarm the Earl of Mar, who in 1571 had assumed the role of regent to the minority king after the murder of the Earl of Lennox. Faced with the daunting task of "reteaning the priviledge of the king" in both temporal and ecclesiastical government until James reached majority rule, Mar saw the ecclesiastical superintendents as an impediment to royal influence in the Kirk, and sought to replace them with an episcopacy which had both ecclesiastical and secular responsibilities. To this end, he organised the January 1572 Convention of Leith, at which delegates representing both Kirk and Crown agreed on a formula for electing bishops: Kirk ministers would perform the election, choosing only from candidates nominated by the Crown. The elected bishops would be subject to the control of the General Assembly in ecclesiastical matters, and to that of the Crown in secular ones (22-3). James Melville later summed up the Presbyterian view of the conference:

A number of Comissionars of the Kirk, meatt at Leithe, with the Lords that haid the guid cause in hand, (wharof everie ane was hounting for a fatt kirk leiving, quhilk gart them feght the fastar,) and ther aggreit to mak Bischopes; the warst turn that ever was done for the kirk. (31)

At the August 1572 General Assembly at Perth, a number of Kirk commissioners expressed similar misgivings about the tentative settlement whose goal had been to

"accommodate the interests of the Crown and needs of the Kirk," but surprisingly, they agreed to pass the articles as a temporary measure until a more suitable solution could be found (Kirk 24-5). This decision, coupled with the actions of the Earl of Morton on behalf of the Crown after he succeeded the Earl of Mar as regent in late 1572, eventually generated an oppositional textual response from Andrew Melville in the form of the *Second Book of Discipline*.

Melville's opposition to the Convention of Leith's resolution was rooted theoretically in his Presbyterian aversion to the episcopacy as a means of state control over the Kirk, but more directly in his aversion to Morton's subsequent exploitation of the reinstated office to gain personal ecclesiastical influence. Elected by the Kirk from candidates chosen by the Crown, the re-established episcopacy was "a mongrel species of prelacy" (McCrie 1: 103) which like its Catholic predecessor was a hybrid of the ecclesiastical and the secular. Staunch Presbyterians—including the Melvilles—derisively called the reinstated bishops "Tulchan Bishops," after the Highland practice of using "'Tulchans,' that is, calffs' skinnies stuffed with straw, to cause the cow giff milk" (J. Melville 31). In their opinion, the new bishops were a false and deceptive perversion of the original, meant to milk the Kirk dry; yet only after Morton demonstrated how adept he was at exploiting the election process did it become apparent how much milk a false calf could get for a crafty farmer. Morton realised that the Convention of Leith, in agreeing that the Kirk should select bishops only from candidates submitted by the Crown, had opened the door once again for the election of civil figures to ecclesiastical office. Although the pre-Reformation bishops had in theory (though perhaps not always in practice) been churchmen first and civil officers second, the new Presbyterian bishops could potentially be secular men first and churchmen second, and could thus solidify state control over religion which the reformed Kirk had sought to eliminate. Although James Melville exaggerates the case by saying that "every lord gat a bischoprie" (31), his statement was not entirely inaccurate from the point of view of the majority of Presbyterian ministers.

From late 1572 to 1575, Morton oversaw the election of two of his kinsmen, John and George Douglas, to the sees of St Andrews and Moray, respectively. In addition, he recommended that Andrew Graham—a kinsman of the Earl of Moray who was not even a minister—be advanced to the position of Bishop of Dunblane. The proposed advancement of Graham was the straw that broke the tulchan's back; the Assembly resisted Morton's recommendation (Kirk 29-30), and soon after, at the urging of the Assembly, Andrew Melville returned to Scotland and to a lifetime of asserted opinion in relation to monarchical religious policy.

Upon his 1574 return to Scotland after five years at Geneva, Melville almost immediately set himself up as an oppositional force near the centre of monarchical power, but still on the periphery. His return was not welcomed by Morton, who considered him a potentially disruptive figure whose influence in the Kirk might endanger the already tenuous position both of the episcopacy and of the minority king. After conferring with his executive, including James Haliburton, Alexander Hay, and James's tutor George Buchanan, Morton decided to "dell with Mr Andro" by co-opting his influence and bringing him on side. He offered him a position in his household as a tutor who would have some minor role in instructing the young king in matters of religion, and promised him eventual elevation to the office of bishop. Melville believed that Morton's purpose was to "restrean the fridome of application in [his] preatching"—and thereby eliminate his vocal public persona—by domesticating him, keeping him out of the General Assembly and out of the pulpit, and eventually conferring upon him a bishopric so that he could not contest the regent's alignment with Anglican episcopal policy. Being of the opinion that he could better serve the Kirk by preaching and maintaining membership in the General Assembly than by being a reluctant spokesman for secular authority in the Kirk, he refused Morton's offer, deciding instead to seek employment as a lecturer at a university (J. Melville 45), a public and

independent position from which to register his professional critique of monarchical policy.

In November 1574, Melville assumed the position of Principal of the College of Glasgow (47-8), but his opposition to the monarch—or at least to the ongoing ecclesiastical machinations of the monarch's guardian—continued. Early in 1575, Morton made another attempt to bring Melville under his influence, this time by offering him the vacant benefice of Govan, "provyding he wald be the Regent's man, and leave aff the persut of the Bischopes" (53-4). Firmly dedicated to the College which he considered "his eldest bern" (244), and strongly opposed to the involvement of secular authorities in the Kirk, Melville refused to leave Glasgow for Govan. Morton nonetheless left the position at Govan vacant for two years in hopes that Melville would change his mind. When this did not happen, Morton sought to gain a more subtle influence over Melville by arranging for the parish of Govan to be annexed under the jurisdiction of the College so that Melville could occupy both positions. Satisfied with this arrangement, Melville became minister to the parish of Govan as well as Principal of the College. According to his nephew, however, Melville was aware that "the special drift [of Morton's machinations] was to demearit [him], and cause him relent from dealing against Bischopes," and so despite the compromise, he remained opposed to the regent and the "crewked instruments" by which he sought to neutralise Melville's opposition to the episcopacy (53-4). In following the ecclesiastical dictum of the General Assembly rather than the secular one of the regent and Privy Council by accepting a post at Glasgow rather than at Stirling, and in refusing to vacate his academic post in favour of one of Morton's choosing, Melville placed himself directly in opposition to the Crown and began a long career of protest against monarchical authority in the Kirk.

Determined to remain both personally and ecclesiastically independent of the king, Melville used the forum of the General Assembly to launch an assault upon Morton and

the bishops he had placed in the Kirk. In a discreet manner which belied his characteristically "hot and eager" nature, Melville insinuated himself into a discussion of the episcopacy at the March 1575 Edinburgh Assembly by urging John Durie, a minister of Edinburgh, to move that the members discuss the role of bishops in the Kirk. After Durie made the motion, Melville immediately seconded it and began the discussion, arguing that the terms "bishop" and "presbyter" meant the same thing, and had the same biblical justification (Spottiswoode 275).⁶ As a result of the ensuing discussion on the jurisdiction of bishops, "Mr Andro Melvill, with certean uther breithring, war ordeaneit to tak peanes thairanent, and giff in ther judgment to the next Assemblie." Given this responsibility, Melville took "exceiding grait peans" to examine the matter with the other members of the committee, and at the next Assembly, at Edinburgh in August 1575, he reported that he and the other commissioned members had concluded that bishops had no lawful calling from God in the Kirk. The Assembly supported this conclusion, and declared that the terms "bishop" and "pastor" were interchangeable (J. Melville 52-3). The Edinburgh Assembly of April 1576 upheld this definition, and resolved that each bishop or pastor should minister to a specific parish, and should be subject to the General Assembly in matters of placement, authority, and discipline (55).

With this resolution, the Assembly began a theoretical—though not yet practical—assault on the ecclesiastical authority of the episcopacy, and through his instigation, debate, examination, and report of the matter, Melville played a subtly manipulative role in the proceedings. Doing his best to embed his concerns within those of the other members of the Assembly, he engaged in discussion only after he had induced Durie to raise the issue of the bishops—essentially becoming a team player only after he himself had assembled the team. Then, in examining the matter and reporting the committee's findings at the urging of the Assembly which voted as a whole on the committee's recommendations, he operated under the auspices of the Assembly itself, appearing not as a solitary oppositional force to Morton and the king whose interests the

regent guarded, but merely as one of many members united in their desire to clarify the terms of the Kirk. As a result, in the three Assemblies he expressed his dissatisfaction with Morton's desire to uphold the episcopacy as the king's agents in the Kirk, but was able to do so in a veiled and moderate manner which foreshadowed some of his later critical dealings with James VI. In addition, with his involvement in the Assemblies, Melville began to take a leading role in determining Kirk policy, for the April 1576 Assembly "nominat for making overture of the Polecie and Jurisdiction of the Kirk" a number of ministers, of which he was one (J. Melville 55). Their resulting reappraisal of the Kirk's "Polecie and Jurisdiction"—behind which Melville was the driving force—was to become the *Prebyterian Second Book of Discipline*.

Given the heated disputes he had with some of his erstwhile allies in the Assembly over their acceptance of bishoprics from 1576 to 1578—the period during which the *Second Book of Discipline* was written—it is fitting that Melville was largely responsible for the work's preparation. In 1576, he became enraged that Patrick Adamson had decided to accept the position of Bishop of St Andrews. Although Adamson had helped to mediate Melville's dispute with Morton over the acceptance of the benefice of Govan, Melville was not willing to compromise his religious principles for the sake of friendship; James Melville reports that when Adamson announced his intention to the Assembly, "all gossoprie ged upe betwin him and my uncle Mr Andro." Similarly, when David Cunningham decided to leave "Glasgw and the guid cause" in 1577 to become "the Regent's minister" and later Bishop of Aberdeen, he went not with Melville's blessing, "bot with a curs accompaning him" from Melville and the rest of the Assembly (57). Melville's ecclesiastical animosity toward erstwhile personal friends continued throughout the later 1570s. On 24 October 1578, he urged the General Assembly to call one of Morton's creations, James Boyd, Archbishop of Glasgow, to account for perceived religious corruption. Since he had been instrumental in arranging both Melville's return to Scotland and his subsequent employment as Principal of the University of Glasgow,

Boyd was shocked at "the ingratitude of Mr. Andrew Melville," who he felt had repaid his kindness "with most disgraceful contempt" (Spottiswoode 303). McCrie rightly disputes two aspects of Spottiswoode's account of this incident: that Melville was Boyd's sole critic, and that Boyd died heartbroken by the treachery which Melville had wrought upon him. Yet no matter how "ridiculous and childish" he sees these charges to be, even McCrie cannot dispute the fact that Melville had been instrumental in effecting the overthrow of the man whose influence had helped get him his position at Glasgow (1: 139-41). The point remains: Melville was of such stern moral fibre that he was more loyal to religious convictions than to men. Since he was unwilling to compromise his anti-episcopal principles under any conditions, it is not surprising that he was the driving force behind the work that began his protracted and fierce dialogue with the king regarding the role of bishops—and the monarch—in the Kirk.

Unlike its oft-studied Anglican counterpart *The Book of Common Prayer*, the *Second Book of Discipline* has received virtually no textual and historicist consideration except for that provided by James Kirk in the introduction to his 1980 edition of the work. Despite this lack of recent critical attention, however, close analysis both of the work and of contemporary accounts of its development confirm that Melville took a leading role in the text's creation. His nephew states that with his involvement in the project, Andrew "specialie opponit him self" to the Crown's episcopal policy, and thereby "incurrit [Morton's] speciall indignation" (61). John Spottiswoode supports James Melville's assertion of Andrew's single-minded desire to define the role of the bishops in the Kirk through the *Book of Discipline*, saying that Andrew "held the Church busied with the matter of policy, which was put in form" by 1578 with the completion of the work (289). Thomas McCrie relates some of the particulars of what he calls the "leading part" which Melville took in the work's creation: Melville was involved in the Assembly debates whose resolution was to undertake the project in the first place; he was present at most Kirk discussions concerning the book, having been a member of all committees related to

it; in addition to conferring with his fellow churchmen, he met also with representatives of Privy Council and Parliament; he also participated in the research for and composition of the book. With respect to the book, McCrie succinctly concludes that there is a "high degree [to] which its success was owing to [Melville's] zeal and ability" (1: 125). As the 1578 *Second Book of Discipline's* primary originator, administrator, researcher, and composer, Melville was in effect the work's author, a role which immediately placed him into religious and political conflict—and ultimately entered him into a prolonged textual and even physical dialogue—with James VI, who would assume majority rule the following year.

The work's content generally advocates maintaining a strict division between Kirk and State by limiting the spiritual authority of the monarch and episcopacy, and in doing so engaged on several fronts with the monarchical policy espoused by Morton. The book begins by drawing a clear distinction between general ecclesiastical and civil authorities, proposing cooperation between these two divinely ordained powers:

This power and policie ecclesiasticall is different and distinct in the awin nature fra that power and policie quhilk is callit the civile power and appertinit to the civile governament of the commoun welth, albeit thay be bayth of God and tend to ane end gif thay be richtlie usit, to wit, to advance the glorie of God and to have godlie and guid subjectis. (*Second Book* 166)

To attain these common goals, the two authorities must cooperate by encouraging each other to perform their divinely ordained duties, the civil power commanding the spiritual authorities "to exercise and do thair office according to the word of God," and the spiritual authority commanding "the Christiane magistrat to minister justice and punische vyce" as decreed in the Bible (170-1). Despite this cooperation and acknowledgement of common goals, however, the book argues that one authority should not rule over the other, and that "the exercise of bayth thais jurisdictionis can not stand in ane persone ordinarlie" (170)—particularly a secular monarch.

To prevent the monarch from exercising power over "bayth thais jurisdictionis," the *Second Book of Discipline* narrowly defines and limits the Crown's role in the Kirk. The work considers the monarch to be not the spiritual head of the Kirk, but rather a member like any other, as in Andrew Melville's own later and oft-quoted words to James VI: "'nocht a king, nor a lord, nor a heid, bot a member'" (J. Melville 370). Despite not having spiritual duties within the Kirk, however, the monarch does have secular duties related to the preservation of the national religion, since "Christaine princes, kingis and uther magistratis are haldine" to an overriding responsibility to "advance the kingdome of Jesus Chryst sa far as lyis in thair power." In particular, the monarch must use his divinely ordained secular authority "to sie that the publick estait . . . be mantenit and sustenit as it appirtenis according to Goddis word" (*Second Book* 213). Furthermore, he must provide civil defence of the Kirk and its discipline, doing his utmost "to mak lawis and constitutionis aggreable to Goddis word, for the advancement of the kirk and policie thereof without usurping any thing that pertenis not to the civill sword" (215). Most importantly for Melville, the monarch must not use civil means to restrict the most public form of ecclesiastical dialogue—preaching—but must instead work "to mantene the present libertie quhilk God of his mercie hes grantit to the precheing of his word" (217). In short, the book argues—in language intended specifically for James—that "God the Fader throcht the Mediator Jesus Chryst" (164) has appointed two distinct but complementary bodies to govern in His name on earth: a civil one which "gettis obedience be the sword and uther externall menis," and an ecclesiastical one whose ministry is "be the spirituall sword and spirituall meanis" (171). In defiance of Morton's intrusions into Kirk government in the name of royal authority, the book generally seeks to ensure that the civil and spiritual realms do not overlap, and specifically does so by advocating that not the king, but the "ministrie of men [act] as ane maist necessarie middis" between God and humans in the spiritual realm, with "Chryst onlie to be callit Lord and Maister in the spirituall government of the kirk" (168).

To ensure that the monarch cannot usurp the position in the spiritual "middis" occupied by the ministers, the *Second Book of Discipline* clearly delineates the origins, role, and powers of the Crown's former agents in the Kirk: the bishops. To begin with, the work repudiates the 1572 Convention of Leith and its provision for the state nomination of bishops by proposing to take episcopal selection completely out of secular hands. It makes the selection process a two-fold one which relies first upon an internal "vocation or calling" by God, and second upon an external affirmation or ordination of this calling by the ministers of the Kirk (178). In short, by recommending that bishops be "callit be God and dewlie electid be man" (184) rather than selected from potential candidates supplied by the Crown, the book seeks to make the origin of the episcopacy and the influences upon it ecclesiastical rather than secular. In a further contravention of the Convention of Leith, the *Second Book of Discipline* seeks to limit not just the origins, but also the traditional authority of the episcopacy. By declaring that "pasturis, or bishopsis, or ministeries, ar thay quha ar appointit to particular congregationis and kirkis quhilk thay reull be the word of God" (183), the book denies the authority of the bishops as the monarch's governing representatives in the Kirk, proposing instead that the term "bishop" is simply another word for "pastor" or "minister." It continues by arguing that bishops "ar all ane with ministeris" (222); that is, they do not occupy any special position in the Kirk, and a minister by any other name is still a minister.

The book takes the debate beyond semantic quibbling, however, by portraying the traditional episcopacy as the Satanic "other." In words which prefigure Melville's later accusations that James's counsel and manner of rule were "'devilishe and pernitiu'" (J. Melville 371) and influenced by "'devilrie and witchcraft'" (A. Melville, "Fathers" 156), the work depicts the bishops as figures possessing an "ambitious [title] inventid in the kingdome of antichryst and in his usurpit hierarchie" (*Second Book* 177). In addition to portraying the bishops as a Satanic construct, the text proposes to eliminate their civil authority by separating them from the secular world altogether. By saying that bishops

(or ministers) "sould have thair awin particular flokis amangis quhome thay exerce their charge" (181), the book limits their secular mobility and separates them from the Crown's authority in a Geertzian way by rooting them in a firm spiritual and physical space—a particular parish kirk. In effect, the work proposes that bishops should be immobilised, equal, and ecclesiastical, and thereby not capable of channelling royal authority into the Kirk: "trew bischopis sould addict thame selfis to ane particular flock (quhilk sindrie of thame refusis) nather sould thay usurp lordship ovir thair brethrene and ovir the inheritance of Chryst" (222-3)—words which remonstrate with all the vehemence of Andrew Melville's spoken word.

In addition to limiting episcopal powers, the book further eradicates monarchical control of Kirk policy by broadening the authority of the General Assembly and Provincial Synods. It mandates that a minister cannot even temporarily leave his parish unless it is with permission from one of these ecclesiastical bodies (184), a provision which again separates Kirk and State jurisdictions by preventing the Crown from controlling even the most mundane of ministerial actions. The book also gives the Kirk the right of self-determination by saying that "all the ecclesiasticall assembleis have power to convene lauchfullie togidder" at their own bidding rather than at that of the monarch. Both Assemblies and Synods, then, have the "power to apoint tymis and places" to convene, and can choose their own moderators whose role is to maintain internal order (195). With this proposal, the Kirk theoretically strengthened its national and provincial Assemblies by declaring itself independent of the monarch. Though James could participate in the General Assembly, he could not determine its date or location, nor could he preside over it or even select who did so in his stead. Overall, then, the *Presbyterian Second Book of Discipline*—as supervised by Melville—clarified the dicta of the *First Book of Discipline* and repudiated the resolutions of the Convention of Leith which Morton had exercised so skilfully in James's name. By drawing a clear distinction between Kirk and State, and by seeking to preserve this distinction by limiting

monarchical and episcopal authority in the Kirk while expanding that of the Assembly, the work evoked an almost immediate response from James and entered Melville into a continuous dialogue with the king regarding the nature and extent of monarchical authority.

At the Edinburgh General Assembly of April 1578—two years to the month it had been begun—the *Second Book of Discipline* was shown to be complete. With Andrew Melville acting as moderator, the Assembly gave the work its unofficial sanction, and resolved to present it to King and Council for discussion at the Parliament scheduled to be held at Stirling in July. Timing and locating their next meeting to coincide with the impending opening of Parliament, the Assembly convened at Stirling in mid-June, and concluded the work “to be conform to the Word of God, and meit for the Esteat of the Kirk in this land.” The Assembly then ordered the work, “with a supplication, to be presented to the King’s Majestie . . . the quhilk was done” prior to the beginning of Parliament (J. Melville 62-3). Interestingly enough, Andrew Melville may have made an informal addition to the Assembly’s “supplication” in hopes of pacifying James, for his nephew records in the very next sentence of his *Diary* that in 1578 Melville “dedicat to the King his *Carmen Mosis*, with certean Epigrames, and a chapter of Job in verse” (63). External evidence from Peter Young’s catalogue of James’s books verifies James Melville’s claim by showing that a copy of Melville’s poems—perhaps a Scottish printing of the original *Carmen Mosis* which had been published in Basel in 1573—was in James’s library by 1578, having been given him by the author (Warner xlvii). Given the fact that Andrew Melville wrote very little, this textual transaction is an important one, for it demonstrates that Melville was aware that the written word was a key way of influencing the king. To James, the written text was something to be valued—a commodity, almost a currency of trade—and Melville may have used the dedication and presentation of the *Carmen Mosis* as a means of diffusing a potentially difficult situation by balancing a critical with a panegyric work. In addition, Melville may have intended that the *Carmen Mosis* and the

chapter from the book of Job, being translations or reworkings of pre-existing texts, would indicate to the king that the work which they accompanied—the *Second Book of Discipline*—was not a radically new and oppositional work, but simply a reworking of previously accepted doctrine. Whether or not Melville's work directly accompanied the *Book of Discipline* into James's hands, or was a later expression of gratitude for hearing the ministers' suit, it nonetheless demonstrates the conciliatory and hopeful spirit in which the Assembly presented its proposal for Kirk reform to the king. Initially, the young king reciprocated this spirit, showing himself eager to engage with the *Second Book of Discipline*, for James Melville reports that upon receipt of the work, "his Hienes gaiff a verie comfortable and guid answer thairanent, nominating certean of his Counsall to confer with the breithring appointed be the Kirk thaircpon" (J. Melville 63).

The Parliamentary response to the book was not so encouraging, however. After James's initial commission met at Edinburgh on 23 June to examine the work, the council decided to submit it to Parliament for discussion in July. Unable to reach any consensus on such short notice, Parliament appointed another committee to examine the book at Stirling in August and report its findings in December. By the time of the December convention, however, a number of critical close-readings had intervened and changed Parliamentary interpretation of the text. The most recent committee "refrained from approving the *Book of Discipline* without emendation," and strongly recommended alteration of the section on the episcopacy (Kirk 124-6). At its next meeting in October 1579, James and his Parliament refused to recognise the Kirk's jurisdiction as laid out in the book except in a limited way regarding the interpretation of Scripture, the administration of the Sacraments, and the exercise of discipline upon members. With this refusal, the work's progress in Parliament abruptly ended.

At the same time, James's thirty-year physical, verbal, and textual dialogue with the Melvilles began in earnest, for thematically, all of his future engagements with them hearkened back to issues which had been broached in the *Second Book of Discipline*.

Angered that the government had effectively blocked the passage of the *Book of Discipline*, the July 1580 Assembly at Dundee resolved to vote on the matter itself at a future meeting. After this decision to vote on the new discipline and potentially implement it in defiance of the civil government, James Melville believed that the "*Episcopatus* was utterlie abolisched" (80) even though the vote itself had not yet taken place. His words would prove true after the April 1581 Glasgow Assembly. Ironically, after "borrowing a guid horse from the Bischope" of Glasgow in order to arrive at this Assembly on time, Andrew Melville joined the rest of the ministers in calling the bishops "damnable" (86-7). Moreover, the Assembly ratified the book and ordered its distribution to presbyteries despite the fact that it did not have either royal or Parliamentary approval and force of law (Kirk 128). In theoretically "abolishing" the episcopacy as the king's agents in the Kirk, then, the *Second Book of Discipline* constituted a direct repudiation of the monarchical policy espoused by Regent Morton in James's name, and ultimately by James himself after he reached majority age in 1579.

Even before the April 1581 ratification of the book, however, James took active steps to negate Andrew Melville's influence in the Assembly and thus preserve the episcopacy. In October of 1580, he wrote to the Edinburgh General Assembly requesting that Melville be transferred from the College of Glasgow to the University of St Andrews, where he would become Principal of the New College (later called St Mary's), which was to be a college of divinity. On 20 October 1580, the Assembly reluctantly agreed to effect the transfer, and at the end of November, at James's direction Melville made his way to St Andrews to begin purging the university of Popery (McCrie 1: 159). The king's choice of Melville to effect the "leat reformation of that Universitie" (J. Melville 83) on the one hand displays his faith in Melville as a scrupulous and loyal reformer, and in this light, the transfer is a testament to James's respect for his contentious and even oppositional subject.

Yet the fact that Melville left Glasgow "sear against his will" and shedding "infinite teares" (83-4) indicates that he saw the action in a more sinister light. He and his nephew were sworn opponents of James's new French Catholic favourite, Esmé Stuart, Sieur D'Aubigny, believing him to have arrived in Scotland "with instructions and devysses from the Houss of Guise, and . . . with a plean course of Papistrie [intended] to subvert the esteat of the Kirk new planted" (76). Being of the opinion that Esmé held James in "a mistie night of captivitie and blak darknes of schamfull servitude" (A. Melville, "Fathers" 164), both as a loyal secular subject and as a minister of the Kirk Andrew frequently voiced his opposition to Esmé's "bewitching" powers over the king (J. Melville 76). Given Melville's virulent opposition both to Esmé and the episcopacy, James's decision to move him from Glasgow to St Andrews seems to have been a calculated one. James Boyd, the Archbishop of Glasgow, had recently died and thus left the archbishopric vacant, and the king and Privy Council had awarded the disposal of the see to Esmé Stuart. Melville's potential opposition both to Esmé's involvement in the nomination of the new archbishop and to the selection of the position in the first place may have been a motivating factor behind James's decision to move Melville to St Andrews. Removing Melville from the Presbytery of Glasgow would help neutralise his opposition to the episcopal selection, and at the same time demonstrate James's control over the General Assembly through his control of its body of ministers.

Removing Melville's body from Glasgow, however, did not remove his fierce vocal support of the *Second Book of Discipline* and its repudiation of James's episcopacy. For the next forty years, Melville supported the tenets of the *Second Book of Discipline* by remaining a firm critic of what he termed "'the bloodie guillie . . . of Absolute Authoritie whereby many intended to pull the Crown off Christs Head and to wring the Scepter out of his hand'" (Calderwood 126-7). At the Convention of the Estates at Perth in July of 1582, he personally registered his textual opposition to the king's religious policies by subscribing to a remonstrance in which the General Assembly argued that the episcopacy

was an improper conjunction of Kirk and State (J. Melville 133). Undaunted by the king's "verie evill countenance and manie secret terrors" (129), Melville and some other ministers of the Assembly proceeded to the Convention and "befor the King and his Counsall, delyverit their Greiffes and Articles." Captain James Stewart, Earl of Arran, challenged the ministers by asking who dared to subscribe to the document in the presence of the king, whereupon Andrew Melville responded, "'We dar, and wil subscrivye tham, and gif our lyves in the cause,'" and proceeded to make good his textual opposition to James by signing the remonstrance. James responded in a characteristic conciliatory manner, and "after sum calmer langage, dimissit [the ministers] in peace" despite the fact that the other members of the Convention "supposed they sould haiff bein hardliar delt withall" (133).

There were, however, limits to the degree of public opposition from the Melvilles that James would tolerate. In a sermon he preached at St Andrews on 15 February 1583/4, Melville encouraged James's Scottish subjects to obey the king only temporally and not ecclesiastically, and thereby made a pre-emptive strike against the impending May 1584 "Black Acts" which comprised James's initial textual response to the *Second Book of Discipline*.⁷ Ordered "to compeir befor the King and Counsall within les nor thrie dayes" to answer for "seditius and treasonable" utterances in the sermon (J. Melville 141), Melville repeatedly protested that in civil matters over which the king presided, he was one of James's most loyal subjects. In addition, he refused to acknowledge James's authority over ecclesiastical matters such as preaching, and argued that since he was being accused of an ecclesiastical rather than a secular crime, his case was not in the jurisdiction of King and Council (Calderwood 144). "Lowsing a litle Hebrew Byble fra his belt, and clanking it down on the burd befor the King," he argued that since he had gotten his "instructiones and warrand" to preach from the Word of God himself rather than from the king, only God was fit to judge him through his lieutenants in the Kirk. Though "manie tymes put they him out, and callit him in againe," Melville refused to

capitulate (J. Melville 142-3), but instead "burst forth in undutiful speeches against the King," and James and his Privy Council were shocked at such "unreverent words proceeding from a Divine, in whom moderation and humility should chiefly have appeared" (Spottiswoode 330). After being ordered to commit himself as prisoner to Blackness Castle within twenty-four hours, Melville refused to obey what he saw as an unjust religious command, but instead fled to Berwick-upon-Tweed to begin a self-imposed—and later monarchically enforced—exile in England with his nephew (J. Melville 143-4).

Yet even with his most vocal and extreme opponents at least temporarily purged from the nation, James's political and religious dialogue with the Melvilles continued. Responding to the *Second Book of Discipline*, on 22 May 1584 James caused to be passed in Parliament a series of laws which severely limited the powers of the Kirk. These laws, which the Presbyterians viewed as devilish and therefore termed the "Black Acts," declared the monarch's supremacy over the Kirk, forbade Kirk bodies such as presbyteries to meet without permission from the king, and put the bishops in charge of the former duties of these bodies. In short, with the acts the "Presbyteriall Governement wes condemned, vnder the name of 'Vnlawfull Conventions;' and the latelie abiured Bischops' office wes set vp againe" (Row et al 1: 391). Despite their exile in England, the Melvilles almost immediately formed a textual response to these "black" acts. In a letter to his fellow exiles the Earls of Mar, Angus, and Glamis, James Melville expresses his opposition to the "Black Acts" in a graphic, earthy manner; echoing 2 Peter 2:22, he sums up the Presbyterian view of the acts by characterising the Kirk's potential return to the episcopal system of government as being akin to "vyle dogs turning to thair vomit" (J. Melville 175). And in an open letter to "the Pastors of the Kirk of Geneva and Tigurie" which James Melville sent "abrode throwout the contrey" (J. Melville 154) and translates in his *Autobiography*, Andrew once again engages with the king. In one instance, he draws the distinction that although in the secular world the monarch's role is "to mak

lawes for subjects and command,” in the Kirk among his pastor equals, his duty is “to receave lawes from God to obey” (A. Melville, “Fathers” 162). In addition, he singles out the Archbishop of St Andrews, Patrick Adamson, for criticism as James’s most evil influence, saying that Adamson had “consulted with witches concerning the esteat of King and Countrey” and “for releiff of his seiknes . . . haid earnestlie sought the helpe and support of devilrie and witchcraft” (156). Of the opinion that he professes the true religion and the true relationship between Kirk and State, Melville allies himself with Christ in opposition to the Antichrist in order to show the righteousness of the Presbyterian cause and the evil of the episcopal one.

James Melville uses a similar tactic in an open letter of his own. In a manner similar to his uncle, he singles out the episcopacy in particular as a source of corruption, portraying it once again as the Satanic other. In his opinion, the king himself is not at fault, but rather, the “satanical presumption and pryde of fals Bischopes” (J. Melville 204) has induced James to defy the divinely ordained ecclesiastical order by instituting the devilish “Black Acts.” By defining their own position in light of a Satanic other in their letters written in exile, the Melvilles set a notable precedent for James, who would eventually in his 1597 *Daemonologie* define his own divinely ordained monarchical position by affirming the existence of devilish witches as his sinister opposition. More importantly, their ability to function through their written texts as constructive critics of rather than blind and violent opposition to James allowed them—albeit from a distance—to maintain their political and religious dialogue with the king.

After the Melvilles returned to Scotland in late 1585, James elected to keep Andrew at a constructive distance for a brief period of time. Before the December 1585 Parliament at Linlithgow had ended, James ordered that Melville “be confined in Angus, Mernes, Perth, and other parts of the North, under pretext to travel and conferre with Jesuits, to reduce them to the true Religion, so far as in him lyeth” (Calderwood 212). As a Presbyterian minister, Melville could hardly object to such an ostensibly evangelical

mission, but Calderwood's use of the term "pretext" implies that in sending Melville to the north of Scotland to convert Jesuits, James had an ulterior motive—using Melville's own Presbyterian zeal as a means of controlling him and keeping him occupied and at bay. But it did not lie within Melville to remain indefinitely on the distant margins of ecclesiastical debate, nor did James allow this to happen; within a year, James permitted Melville to return to the New College at St Andrews and to his ongoing political and religious dialogue with the king.

Upon the May 1587 Scottish visit of the Huguenot soldier-poet Guillaume de Salluste, *Sieur du Bartas*, James demonstrated that he saw engagement with his critics as a necessary practice—a sort of humanist counterproposal which he actively sought to encourage—for after *du Bartas*' arrival, he took him to see the "opposition" in action right at the source. Coming without warning to the New College, James commanded Andrew Melville to preach a sermon at an hour's notice, and gathered the entire university to listen. With only an hour to prepare, Melville preached a detailed sermon which castigated James's "Black Acts" and "intreated maist cleirlye and mightelie of the right government of Chryst" rather than the monarch in the Kirk. James Melville was present, and records that Andrew's sermon contributed "to the grait instruction and confort of his auditor, except the King alleane, wha was verie angrie all that night" about Melville's repudiation of royal ecclesiastical authority (255).

Despite his displeasure with Melville's sermon, however, having deliberately sought out a confrontation, James expected such criticism of his ecclesiastical policy, and relied on mediation—in this case by the internationally renowned scholar *du Bartas*—to weigh both sides of the episcopal argument. After he and *du Bartas* had heard Archbishop Adamson preach in favour of the episcopacy the next day, James decided to "haiff his four hours in the Collage, and drink with Mr Andro" and Adamson to adjudicate between their views (255-6). Satisfied with the success of this meeting, James resolved to break bread again with his erstwhile critic, and later that evening, he and *du Bartas* shared a

"banquet of wat and dry confectiones" with the two Melvilles at the College Hall. With the wine flowing freely, "his Majestie camped verie mirrelie a guid whyll," and after the banquet, asked du Bartas' opinion of the two disputants he had heard at the college. Du Bartas answered that Melville's *extempore* sermon demonstrated that he "haid a grait reddie store of all kynd of lerning within him; and by that, Mr Andro his spreit and courage was far above the other . . . the quhilk judgment the King approved" (256-7). By mentioning the king's "approval" of Andrew, James Melville neatly sums up the relationship—one perhaps facilitated by the opinion of the mediating du Bartas—which he and his uncle had with James VI. As constructive critics of his ecclesiastical policy, they were oppositional figures who nonetheless had his qualified approval—or at least tolerance—and ones with whom he actively engaged as he developed his own ideas of his monarchical authority.

Into the 1590s, both James and the Melvilles—especially Andrew—kept alive this heated dialogue regarding Kirk/State relations. In late 1590, James called Andrew on the carpet to answer for alleged "factious and seditious" preaching regarding monarchical authority in the Kirk. In the spirit of dialogue, and perhaps remembering du Bartas' "approval" of Melville, James had "a lively trial of that mans fidelitie and truth, in all proceedings from time to time" before eventually pardoning him. Calderwood maintains that James "allowed well of [Melville]" because he knew the charges "that were alledged upon him, to have been false and contrived treacheries" (Calderwood 263). The more likely possibility is that James demonstrated a degree of leniency due to a textual exchange he had had with Melville a few months earlier. Upon the occasion of the queen's coronation in the early summer of 1590, Melville had professed his secular loyalty to James and Queen Anne by composing and reciting a coronation ode with which the king was so pleased that he ordered its immediate printing. The fact that James had told Melville at the the time "that he could never requyt him" for his kind words (J. Melville 279) suggests that he at least attempted to do so by forgiving Melville for his

harsh ones, or by at least dialogically entertaining Melville's ecclesiastical concerns to some degree.

In June of 1592, these dialogical relations between James and the Melvilles reached their pinnacle of civility with the "Ratification of the Libertie of the Trew Kirk." This document, which constituted the General Assembly's proposal for relations between Kirk and State, was one in whose genesis the Melvilles figured prominently, for James Melville states that the composition of the work cost him—and presumably his uncle—"a piece of paines" (294). Known by the Presbyterians as the "Golden Acts" because they reversed or repudiated many of the articles contained in James's 1584 "Black Acts," these statements of doctrine greatly increased the Kirk's powers of self-determination, and moderated James's ecclesiastical authority as initially defined in the "Black Acts." In their proposal for the "Golden Acts," the members of the General Assembly insisted that the king or his representatives affirm the necessity and authority of the Assembly by calling it to meet at least once a year, though the Crown was responsible for determining the exact date and location. In addition, the Assembly urged that the monarch recognise the institution of the Presbytery as a godly form of Kirk government, and as one which operates regardless of royal laws, statutes, acts, or proclamations. Finally, the Assembly proposed that the "Golden Acts" take precedence over the "Black Acts" by giving authority in the Kirk to the ministers rather than the monarch in such matters as pronouncing excommunication and administering the Sacraments (J. Melville 295-8). Although these proposed acts to some degree limited the monarch's control over ecclesiastical affairs, because they did not mention the episcopacy, and because they strengthened the Kirk's position as a reformed church in the face of Catholicism, James and Parliament passed them, a decision which James Melville called "remarkable" (298). Of course, the king did have an ulterior motive for approving the acts, for while he conceded some powers to the Assembly, the confirmation of his authority to control the time and place where that body met in the first place was more than adequate

compensation, and something which he would use to good advantage in coming years. Nonetheless, by negating the "Black Acts" and approving the more moderate text of the "Golden Acts" in light of the Kirk's criticisms, he encouraged the Presbyterian ministers to participate with him in a political and religious dialogue which positively influenced how he developed his monarchical policy toward the Kirk.

The affair of the "Spanish Blanks" further demonstrates the existence of a sort of politically transformative dialogue between the king and his "constructive critics" into the 1590s. In late 1592, a band of men led by Andrew Knox, minister of Paisley, apprehended a Catholic messenger named George Kerr as he attempted to leave for Spain armed with plans for a Spanish invasion of both Scotland and England from the Netherlands. With these plans, Kerr carried blank papers signed by the Catholic Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, papers which committed the earls to the Spanish cause since they were accompanied by a commission for the Jesuit William Crichton to fill in the blanks with orders for the Scottish nobles regarding their role in the impending invasion (McElwee 77-8). The Edinburgh General Assembly responded immediately to this threat to Kirk and nation by notifying the Protestant nobles of the plot and by urging James to prosecute the principal figures. James, however, "tuk noch weill" to the Assembly's recommendations, believing that the ministers had overstepped their ecclesiastical authority both by convening the nobles behind his back and by counselling him unbidden regarding a secular matter. The ministers, in turn, were angered by James's failure to prosecute the offenders severely. While he had pursued the Earl of Huntly to Caithness, he did not destroy his forces, and in the meantime, George Kerr and the Earl of Angus inexplicably managed to escape from imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle. The fact that Kerr had carried a statement in James's own handwriting which tentatively endorsed the invasion as a means of acquiring the English throne further "wrought a grait suspition and discontentment in the harts of all the guid subjects of the land towards the King" (J. Melville 306-7). William McElwee argues that at this time, the king's efforts at

mediation had failed miserably: "James's policy of playing off the rival parties and religions had brought him to complete disaster," and "his authority had been so diminished that it now seemed negligible" (77-8).

Only with the intervention of the Melvilles did he regain this diminished civil and religious authority. Angered that a year had passed and James had not actively punished the rebel (and by now excommunicate) Catholic earls, Andrew Melville took matters into his own hands at the December 1593 Convention of the Estates at Edinburgh. Addressing the king "with zeall and birning affectiones," Melville "gaiff him at this time a maist scharpe and frie admonition" regarding his apparent tolerance of the Catholic plotters. Urging their immediate prosecution, he stated that he "sould nocht refuse to go to the gibbet for it, provyding they being convict sould ga the sam gett." James "past ower the mater with smylling, saying the man was mair zealus and coleric nor wyse" (J. Melville 313), but was soon pressured into action by the younger Melville as well. Fearing that he was "suspected and evill-lyked of be the King," James Melville nonetheless led a group of ministers in presenting a written remonstrance to the king at the Parliament at Stirling in May of 1594 (315). The king responded positively to the ministers' demands for tighter restrictions on Catholics in the interest of both Kirk and State. He agreed to punish the Catholic earls, and to James Melville's surprise, invited him to speak in private with the King-in-Council. James told Melville that despite their differences, he considered him and his uncle to be valuable advisors and his "maist fathfull and trustie subjects." To prove this, he dismissed Melville charitably and sent with him "speciall commendationes and directiones to my uncle Mr Andro" (316-7).

After "commending" Andrew Melville for his loyal criticisms, James sent him "directions" which almost certainly involved him in the June 1594 Parliamentary decision to combat any impending Catholic plots by prosecuting the earls and levying more money for the Kirk livings of ministers (317). Refusing to act without the counsel of the "maist fathfull and trustie" Melvilles, James asked in September 1594 that the two

accompany him as he rode against the rebel earls. There on behalf of the Kirk to witness the prosecution of the earls, the Melvilles were soon pressed into further service. After the first month, the king did not have enough funds left to pay his soldiers to destroy the Earl of Huntly's manor, and sent James Melville back to Edinburgh with a letter authorising him raise money from the ministers there to pay the royal recruits for a second month. In the meantime, "present in Counsall daylie," Andrew Melville opposed the Privy Council's proposal to spare the house, and was supported by the king. Armed with both support from Andrew Melville and funds delivered by James, the king ordered Huntly's house destroyed (318-22). This act, while solidifying his authority over his nobles, also demonstrated the degree to which he relied upon the Melvilles for counsel and support during the early 1590s. Realising this himself, James invited the younger Melville to be a member of the Privy Council, a position of influence which Melville held for two years (329).

James Melville's influence at court did not, however, signal the end of the critical dialogue between his uncle and the king. On 10 November 1595, James ordered David Blake, a minister of St Andrews, to appear before him to answer charges of having "cast forth divers speeches full of spight against the King," Anne, the Privy Council, and even Queen Elizabeth (Spottiswoode 419). Since Andrew Melville was the "meantiner and assistar of [Blake] in his ministerie," having helped Blake to procure his position (J. Melville 323), he accompanied Blake to Edinburgh to assist him in opposing "the censure and controlement" of preachers by King and Council (Spottiswoode 419). As expected, Blake refused to acknowledge James's ecclesiastical authority, and deferred only to certain ministers whom the king had allowed to be present. At this point, Andrew Melville knocked on the chamber door, entered, and with "grait libertie of speitch" informed James that he could preside over civil matters only, since ministers are the messengers of Christ and can be censured by Him alone. James attempted to silence Melville, but the minister continued "with graitteir bauldnes and force of langage" until

James Melville in his role as Privy Councillor moderated the dispute so that the two defendants were able to acquit themselves "to the King's contentation." Having witnessed James Melville's ability to resolve the dispute, James ordered him to preach a sermon at St Andrews which would show Blake's parish "that all was weill aggreit" between the king and Kirk (J. Melville 324-6). By ordering Melville to preach this sermon and thus act out monarchical policy, James in a sense made him into a subservient and supportive monarchical text, one who in person represented the merging of Kirk and State. Melville writes that he was uncomfortable with this arrangement, for he was unable to reconcile his desire to win the king to the Kirk with the king's desire to win him to court. As a result, the time he spent in Council "grew les thairefter" (328-9), and like his uncle, he was again registering his criticism of monarchical policy from outside the court by 1596.

The fact that they operated from outside the court did not keep the Melvilles from continuing their longstanding critical political and religious dialogue with James through the remainder of the 1590s, however. In 1596, for example, the Melvilles went unbidden to Falkland and by engaging with James as loyal opposition made him promise that the General Assembly would play a role in determining the fate of the Catholic earls. And as the next chapter will demonstrate, their vocal criticisms in the later part of the decade helped determine the nature of James's political theory, particularly as outlined in *Basilicon Doron*. But their intertextual influence upon James's theory and practice of monarchy did not end in the 1590s; even into the next century, after James had left Scotland to ascend to the English throne, the two Melvilles functioned as dynamic texts with which James engaged as he sought to settle relations between Church and State in both Scotland and England.

The March 1600 General Assembly at Montrose, for example, saw a textual interplay initiated by Andrew Melville and sustained by the king through which both sides were able to negotiate a mediated settlement on the question of the episcopacy. At the

previous General Assembly at Dundee in March 1598, after Andrew had angered the king "in his auld maner," James enforced an existing act of Kirk legislation—that ministers not tending to a specific flock could not be members of the Assembly—and thereby removed Andrew from the Assembly (J. Melville 440). By both barring Andrew from the Assembly and negotiating personally with a number of other ministers, James was then able to pass another act which John Cunningham claims peacefully initiated the reintroduction of the bishops into the Kirk: "after some discussion, it was resolved—that the Church should recommend to his Majesty a list of six ministers for every vacant place, and that out of these his Majesty should choose one to sit in parliament" (453). Cunningham's statement that "some discussion" led to this moderated decision downplays the personal dialogical role which Andrew Melville played at the Assembly, however. Although still in theory barred from participating in the Assembly, Melville nonetheless arrived at Montrose, whereupon "the King called for him and quarrelit him for his coming; wha, efter the auld maner, dischargit his conscience to him with all fredome and zeall." Answering James with "grait fervencie," Melville put his hand "to his crag" and said, "Sir, tak yow this head, and gar cut it af, gif yie will; yie sall sooner get it, or I betray the cause of Chryst!" James responded to Melville's accustomed opposition by allowing the minister Melville to remain at the Assembly in an unofficial capacity as an advisor to the other ministers, unable to voice personally his own concerns regarding the reinstallation of the episcopacy (J. Melville 485). Understanding the king's respect for and willingness to engage with the literary text, however, Melville used an innovative means—a poem which he had composed in honour of the recently deceased Presbyterian minister John Durie—to engage with the king and thereby register his ecclesiastical opposition.

In anticipation of not being allowed to attend the Assembly formally himself, Melville composed this poem both to honour Durie (who was James Melville's father-in-law), and to appropriate his persona, since before his death the minister had been an authorised

delegate. When he read the poem to the king and Assembly, Melville assumed the voice of Durie, but in ostensibly voicing Durie's concerns, he in fact registered—within a literary framework—his own criticisms of James's intention to control the implementation of the episcopacy. That is, although this poem supposedly speaks the mind of Durie, the very act of reading it aloud gave Melville an unofficial means of engaging with the king in his own voice, and through the poetic text. Standing before the Assembly, Melville expressed Durie's alleged opinions of the episcopacy, ones which closely echo his own and blur the distinction between author and narrator. To begin the poem, Melville wishes that the "courtlie wolffes from Chrystes flock be flegged and debarde" from the Assembly as they had been after the ratification of the *First Book of Discipline* (A. Melville, "Epitaphes" line 2), and he reiterates this point by praying that "Chryst's flock from courtlie wolffes be keiped and preserv'd" (line 6). Continuing in Durie's voice, he argues that since the "profane usurpes the place" of ministers in the Assembly, he has no desire to attend merely to "byd and yeaule with wicked wolffes" (lines 9-12). Having witnessed a time "when Chryst was [the] onlie Arche-bischope" in the Kirk, he finds the current state unbearable, and chooses to die rather than to attend an Assembly corrupted by bishops (lines 13-16). He laments the passing of a time when Kirk and State were completely separated, when the "Pastor guid" was kept from "all warldlie cares," and courtiers were ignorant of the affairs of the Kirk (lines 27-8). Durie/Melville ends with a plea made directly to James:

Let nocht the heavinlie Kirk of Chryst be rewld on erthlie wayes;
 Let nocht the Pastors for to twitch thy scepter interpryse.
 Let Ministers, all mystic things, and kinglie Kings intreat;
 Set Counsallars for civill things, and Lords into thy seat.
 Giff things devyne to God, tak thyne, let peiple have ther awin;
 For under Chryst, the King impyre, distinguish hes and knawin. (lines 41-46)

By allowing Melville to remain at Montrose in the first place even though he was theoretically banned from the Assembly, James had demonstrated his tolerance of principled opposition. But by permitting Melville to read such a scathing condemnation of monarchical policy aloud, he demonstrated something else: an active desire to engage with his critics, particularly on a plane which was literary as well as political or ecclesiastical. When he proposed to read the poem aloud, Melville acknowledged the literary underpinning of his dialogue with the king, since after his "auld maner" of engagement failed, he relied on a textual means to maintain a monarchical connection. This subversive yet heartfelt plea in the voice of a dead man served Melville's purpose. Despite the king's attempt to keep the "vottes of the best Breithring distracted" from the anti-episcopal cause (J. Melville 469), the "distracted" ministers focused on the task at hand—limiting James's control over what ministers would have a vote in Parliament—and refused to capitulate to him entirely. And perhaps because the textual and poetic nature of Melville's criticism appealed to James's literary sensibilities, James re-evaluated his position as well. King and Assembly agreed to moderate the selection of commissioners by allowing the king to select his fifty voting ministers only from a list of candidates supplied by the Assembly, and in so doing sought to prevent secular abuse of the Kirk by the monarch (538). While the ministers had won the battle at Montrose, they had nonetheless lost the war in Scotland, for the very existence of the commissioners—albeit in a restricted form—was in itself a living example of James's dialogical and mediating authority over the Kirk. Almost twenty years later in England, George Villiers would go so far as to sing and dance to get James's attention, but in Scotland in the 1590s and early 1600s, Melville showed that being alive to James's textual conception of kingship was an equally effective means of engaging in and sustaining a political dialogue with the monarch.

Armed with a surefire way of getting James's attention—presenting him with a text of some sort—Melville continued to engage with the willing king in a dialogue regarding

monarchical control over the Kirk. At the end of June 1602, Melville preached at St Andrews against corruption in the Kirk, saying that the real danger to Scotland was not Spain, but rather the ministers who had collaborated with the king in reinstituting the episcopacy. James himself came to St Andrews in July to investigate the charges of sedition which had been levelled at Melville by some of the St Andrews ministry, and after a personal interview with Melville, ordered that he be placed under house arrest, confined to the New College of St Andrews "under pain of rebellion" (Calderwood 458). Having restricted Melville's mobility and thus effectively silenced his voice, James nonetheless relented at the queen's urging, and commuted the sentence to one of house arrest within a six-mile radius of the College—the sort of moderate punishment traditionally reserved for aristocrats rather than scholars or ecclesiastics. Since the next General Assembly—the one at which the new bishops were to be invested with their livings—was to be held at St Andrews later in 1602, James exercised the authority which he had reserved for himself with the ratification of the "Golden Acts" by proroguing it to 10 December at Holyroodhouse in order to exclude Melville from the proceedings (Calderwood 459). At this assembly, James defined his polity against Melville as absent presence, controlling the Assembly through the pliable moderator, Patrick Galloway, in order to formally reintroduce the episcopacy into the Kirk (469). Early the next year, Elizabeth I died and James ascended to the English throne, but before he left for London, James met with the Synod of Lothian at Haddington to settle the issue of the Kirk's governance during his absence. His final missives to the Synod were to affirm that he would hold the next General Assembly at Aberdeen in July 1604 as per the decision of the Holyrood Assembly, and to order that Melville remain under house arrest in the vicinity of the New College (473). Having both ascended to the throne of a foreign country and mediated at least a partial settlement with the Kirk and the Melvilles through a limited form of the episcopacy, James appeared to have no theoretical reason to continue his dialogue with the Melvilles.

Yet he must have seen his engagement with them as a practical necessity—something which was basic to kingship and crucial to the process of defining, articulating, and enforcing monarchical authority—for after becoming king of England, he almost immediately engaged with them in a final dialogue which helped define his ecclesiastical authority as monarch not just in Scotland, but also in his new kingdom of England. Almost as if Melville served as James's archetypal religious conscience—a necessary annoyance whose criticism James felt obligated to entertain and consider—James invited the Melvilles to England to participate with him in a structured dialogue on the extent of his monarchical power in the Kirk. This engagement, held at Hampton Court in late 1606 and early 1607, was a fitting finale for James's longstanding dialogue with the Melvilles for it was comprised of a number of elements which had characterised their relationship in Scotland for the past twenty-five years as James sought to define his monarchical authority in light of his constructive critics: active mutual participation, intertextual encounters, mediation, triumph of the *via media*, and even the suppression of the body as text. By playing his accustomed roles of engager, mediator, adjudicator, and purveyor of discipline at what could be termed "the second Hampton Court Conference," James put an exclamation point upon his Scottish rule by solidifying his authority over the Kirk. In addition, by demonstrating to his new subjects the sort of mediating but nonetheless inviolable power he wielded over both Church and State as monarch, he began to incorporate his Scottish experience into the development of his English authority. In short, the dialogue at Hampton Court allowed him to define his polity again in relation to the Melvilles as other. By engaging and consulting with the members of his "loyal opposition," by exposing their extremism and repudiating it in favour of the *via media*, and finally by passing judgement and inflicting punishment upon them, he firmly defined his Scottish ecclesiastical authority against them, and took the first steps toward defining his English one in the same way.

The Synod of Fife met at St Andrews in September 1604—perhaps to accommodate Andrew Melville, who was still restricted to a six-mile radius around the New College—and determined that regardless of the king's directive to postpone the meeting of the General Assembly which was to have met at Aberdeen in July 1604, "the warrand of Christ, the onlie King of the Kirk, [was] sufficient and great aneugh" reason to hold the Assembly at a later date (J. Melville 565). Although James had affirmed before leaving for England that the next Assembly would take place as scheduled in July 1604, he decided to postpone the Assembly for two reasons: the Presbyterian ministers had expressed their anger at the impending selection of commissioners to facilitate unity in religion between Scotland and England; moreover, they had expressed their displeasure with the results of the January 1604 Hampton Court Conference which had caused "gryt disapoyntment, discouragement, and disgrace of all that craiffed and luikit for reformatioun" (J. Melville 555). Initially, James prorogued the Assembly to July 1605, but he soon postponed it indefinitely, a decision which contravened the 1592 "Golden Acts" which had guaranteed yearly Assemblies (Burleigh 77).

Melville saw the meeting of the Aberdeen Assembly as a necessary measure to maintain the Kirk's independence from both monarchical and Anglican influence. While he was not averse to the secular union of Scotland and England under one monarch who legislated for both nations—he even composed three poems celebrating James's peaceful accession to the English throne—he was virulently opposed to any sort of religious union between the two countries. He did not want the monarchical union of the two nations to come at the expense of Presbyterianism, but since James had begun formally introducing an Anglican-style episcopacy into the Kirk at the 1602 Holyrood General Assembly, the possibility of Presbyterian absorption into the Church of England must have seemed a very real one. Melville's desire was for the Kirk to remain independent of Anglican influence, and further changes to the religion of either nation—particularly with respect to the episcopacy—would threaten this independence

(McCrie 2: 107-8). For this reason, as a loyal secular and ecclesiastical Scottish subject Melville actively sought to maintain his religious dialogue with the king, as a constructive critic with whom James had to negotiate in order to settle the question of his ecclesiastical authority. He fully supported the ministers' decision to hold the postponed Aberdeen Assembly on 2 July 1605 "in contempt of the King" and his ecclesiastical authority as self-proclaimed head of the Kirk (Calderwood 494), and in doing so helped precipitate his defining meeting with James at Hampton Court in 1606.

When the Assembly finally met in July 1605, James's response was immediate, and ultimately brought him once again into textual and personal debate with the Melvilles. In anticipation of the rogue Assembly's meeting, in a pre-emptive textual strike James had John Wischart deliver to the delegates a letter which condemned the Assembly as an unlawful gathering of ministers without the king's consent, and the Assembly quickly dissolved (J. Melville 573). James then pressed his advantage by continuing his textual assault on the ministers: on 25 July 1605 he proclaimed that the ministers had met "in a manifest contempt and misregard of the King" (581); on 8 August he published a writ "signed with his own hand" which said that the General Assembly was to meet only with his approval (Calderwood 495). He ordered the Privy Council to imprison six of the aborted Assembly's principal figures—John Forbes, John Welch, Robert Durie, Andrew Duncan, Alexander Strachan, and John Sharpe—in Blackness Castle on charges of treason for failing to acknowledge the king's authority over the Kirk (J. Melville 575). On 10 January 1606, the prisoners—accompanied by James and Andrew Melville, the latter of whom had apparently had his sentence of house arrest lifted—were removed to Linlithgow Palace for an interrogation before the Privy Council. Claiming that the Aberdeen Assembly had had a moderator, a sufficient number of delegates, and a proper venue, the ministers maintained that it had been a legitimate Kirk gathering held according God's Word as outlined in the Scriptures. This refusal to acknowledge the king's ecclesiastical authority meant that the six ministers now faced a charge of treason,

and they were again imprisoned, this time at Linlithgow Palace, but again with the personal support of the Melvilles who remained nearby in the town of Linlithgow (Calderwood 508-9).

The continued imprisonment of the six ministers engendered another textual interplay between the king and the Melvilles. After James instructed the Synod of Fife that he was to be "acknowledgit suprem reuler of the Kirk undir Christ" through his commissioners, James Melville wrote to the Synod, urging its members to ignore the "strange gnaverie of Articles to be presentit [to them] from his Majestie" and to maintain the Kirk in the state in which it had existed when the king acceded to the throne of England. In addition, Melville requested that the Synod order his uncle Andrew to write to the king in order to reinforce the *status quo* of the Kirk. One of the king's new commissioners, Sir David Murray, obtained a copy of James Melville's letter and sent it to the king in London to illustrate the degree to which the Kirk was attempting to operate independently of monarchical authority (J. Melville 627-31). James's response was immediate; on 15 February 1606, he had a proclamation hearkening back to the May 1584 "Black Acts" read in the streets of Edinburgh "in moist terribill termes and maner," a proclamation which said that "none sould speik, in privat nor in publict, againes his Majestie and Counselis proceidingis, undir the paine of death" and that "none sould declyne his Majestie's judgement, in any cause, undir the paine of treasoure" (632).

Although this response to the ministers' protests against his religious authority was draconian, James could be almost simultaneously conciliatory and invited the Melvilles' criticisms of his ecclesiastical policies. In May 1606, he personally wrote to eight Presbyterian ministers—James Balfour, William Watson, William Scot, John Carmichael, Robert Wallace, and Adam Colt, and of course James and Andrew Melville—commanding them to arrive in London by 15 September to appear before him to answer for their apparent criticisms of his Kirk policy. James begins each letter in a spirit of reconciliation, calling the ministers "trustie and weillbelovit" subjects, and

complimenting their "guid lairning and experience." He continues by asking their assistance in preserving the peace in the Kirk which is threatened by "sume incredulous, wilfull, ingrat, and malicious-disposeit persounes" (J. Melville 634-6). In short, in order to resolve the question of his authority in the Kirk, he sought out the ministers, requesting their presence as his loyal opposition, and deferring to their "lairning and experience" which qualifies them to provide him with constructive criticism. Ominously, James's letter which drew Melville to England for his final major dialogical engagement with the king was dated on the twenty-second anniversary of the event which precipitated one of Melville's first and most acrimonious royal engagements—the 22 May 1584 promulgation of the "Black Acts." Although this did not bode well for an equitable debate, from the outset James conducted the conference in a spirit of mediation, presenting himself both to the ministers and to his English subjects as an approachable monarch willing to entertain opposing viewpoints and resolve conflict between rival factions. Although they arrived for their meeting with the king at Hampton Court five days late, for instance—on 20 September 1606—James nonetheless greeted his Presbyterian guests civilly, even joking that the length of James Balfour's beard would cause him to be mistaken for a Turk in London (McCrie 2: 141). Pleasantries having been exchanged, James then officially opened his dialogue with the Melvilles and their fellow ministers by presenting his side of the argument through the person and preaching of some of his most powerful ecclesiastical instruments: his English bishops.

Partly for purposes of indoctrination, and partly for purposes of reconciliation, he repeatedly brought the ministers into contact with the bishops. On the afternoon of 20 September, he invited the ministers to the King's Chapel at Hampton Court to hear William Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, preach on Acts 20:28, regarding "the estaite of the Bisschoppis thair superioritie above Ministeres." James Melville reports that the king missed no opportunity to impress upon the ministers the importance of the episcopacy; he was careful to seat the Melvilles "hard besyd the Pricher" to ensure that they were clearly

able both to see the king's ecclesiastical lieutenant in the Church in action, and to hear his arguments (653-4). Then, on 23 September, James made another effort to reconcile the ministers to the episcopacy by inviting them to hear another sermon, this time by John Buckeridge, who as Bishop of Rochester and President of St John's College, Oxford, was like the Melvilles both a scholar and an ecclesiastic. Preaching on Romans 13:1, Buckeridge attempted to win the ministers over by arguing on a scriptural basis that the king is the supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters, and that Papists and Presbyterians alike are the enemies to that supremacy. Five days later, James again invited the ministers to Court, this time to hear one of his primary prelates, Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Chichester, preach out of the book of Numbers regarding the king's authority to convocate ecclesiastical assemblies (663). Then, on 30 September, he had John King, Bishop of London and Dean of Christ Church, preach to the ministers on a text characteristic of a monarch who cherished his role as "Great Britain's Solomon": Song of Solomon 8:11-12. Comparing the vineyard which Solomon placed in the care of keepers to the authority which the king temporarily entrusts to his bishops and ministers, King argued that the monarch is the indisputable head of the Church who by delegating his authority in turn empowers ministers and Presbyteries who otherwise have no authority of their own (Calderwood 543). Although the ministers' responses to each sermon were not as charitable as James might have hoped, he nonetheless saw the process of bringing together minister and bishop as an important one, one which used the most powerful means at his disposal to state the case for his supremacy in the Kirk and at the same time maintain a constructive dialogue between divided ecclesiastics. He found the four sermons so effective, in fact, that he immediately ordered them printed (J. Melville 667), an act which textually registered his ecclesiastical position—and perhaps even empowered him by authorising the dialogue which he had permitted it to engender.

But at Hampton Court James did not attempt simply to reconcile the ministers to the episcopacy in order to show them both proper ecclesiastical obedience and his

willingness to engage in dialogue on the subject; he also brought them into contact with some of his most powerful nobles to demonstrate that he expected secular obedience from his subjects as well. On 23 September, for instance, James invited the ministers to his chambers, where they met with a number of distinguished guests whom he had invited to Hampton Court in order to witness his mediating authority at work. Present were several of his primary English nobles, including some who were at least in title, uniquely Jacobean creations: Robert Cecil, whom James had made 1st Earl of Salisbury in 1605; Henry Howard, made 1st Earl of Northampton in 1604; Thomas Howard, recently invested with the title of 1st Earl of Suffolk; and Charles Howard, lately given the title of 1st Earl of Nottingham. In addition, James invited "thrie or four Bisschoppis and Deanes," the most notable of which was the most powerful churchman in England, the recently appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Bancroft, who was deliberately "placit at the Kingis rycht hand" to show the power and importance of the episcopacy. After introducing his guests to each other, James joined his Scottish and English subjects in a meal at which erstwhile opponents "maid guid cheir" with each other (J. Melville 658-9). By introducing the Scottish ministers to some of his most powerful English subjects—and by prefacing the meeting by having them witness his divinely ordained ability to cure scrofulous children (657)—James undoubtedly meant to impress upon them his unique power as a secular and ecclesiastical creator, but his bringing together of opposing nations and factions served another, more subtle purpose. By breaking bread with his critics in the most intimate of personal spaces—his chambers—he at least temporarily put aside his differences with the ministers, and encouraged them to interact on a personal basis with his English subjects. His goal in arranging the meeting of his various subjects, then, was not simply to establish his ecclesiastical authority over his Scottish subjects and reinforce it over his English ones, but also to present himself as a monarch with the power to moderate the opinions of his subjects in order to define his authority in terms of a mediated consensus.

Although James sought to demonstrate his mediating authority as a modern-day Solomon who could resolve disputes by bringing his subjects together in a constructive dialogue, he was not entirely successful. Despite his attempts to demonstrate to the ministers how his English subjects operated with considerable freedom under his authority, and despite his attempts to reconcile the ministers personally with the bishops, the Melvilles proved themselves from the outset to be unyielding figures who, while eager to participate in the dialogue, refused to acknowledge any formulation of James's ecclesiastical superiority over them. Even before arriving in England, for instance, they set the stage for a continuing confrontation with James by making a public demonstration of textual opposition at the Scottish Parliament which met at Perth in July 1606. Forcing his way into the session-house, Andrew Melville refused to leave, and signed the oath of the king's supremacy only after making "all that saw and hard him to understand" that he acknowledged James only as his secular superior (J. Melville 637-8). For his part, James Melville added his voice to his uncle's cause by warning Parliament that a bishop "will think himself a pettie Roy" (Calderwood 536). This statement's succinctness belies its shrewd assessment of the power which the king believed the episcopacy afforded him in its role as the monarch's governing body in the Kirk, but even more, it belies the fervency with which the Melvilles would oppose the episcopacy in their dialogue with the king at Hampton Court.

The conference itself was permeated by conflict since the Melvilles conducted themselves not as subservient subjects, but rather in their accustomed manner, as James's unbudging loyal opposition who participated in the dialogue but refused to compromise their Presbyterian principles. But James tried. After dining with both the ministers and nobles in his chambers on 23 September, he announced his intention to engage the ministers in an ecclesiastical dialogue, and expressed his desire to hear their responses concerning two questions: why they had held the Aberdeen General Assembly without his permission, and how they believed future Assemblies should be conducted in order to

come to a peaceful settlement of Kirk affairs, particularly pertaining to the episcopacy as the King's ecclesiastical representatives in the Kirk. By opening the debate on his authority over the Kirk's General Assemblies and thereby discounting his opposition only after considering its merits, James presented himself as a mediating, engaging force, one willing to negotiate before passing judgement.

Taking up James's invitation to respond, Andrew Melville "talkit all his mynd in his awin maner, roundly, soundly, fully, friely, and fervently, [for] almaist the space of ane hour," arguing that since the Bible says nothing of numbers, an opening sermon, a moderator, or even royal authority to convene Assemblies, the Aberdeen Assembly had taken place according to God's dictum, regardless of whether it had followed that of the king (J. Melville 658-9; Calderwood 540-1). After the other ministers had in turn given their responses to James's query, Andrew entered the dialogue again, asking, "on his knees, humbly to speik bak again." His humility was short-lived, however, for he "spake out in his awin maner," repeating that the ministers had been innocent of defying God's Word by holding the Aberdeen Assembly, and denying James's ecclesiastical authority by asking the question "Quis me constituit judicem?"—that is, "who makes me a judge?" He continued "in a great passion" by claiming that just as Sir John Hamilton—a former supporter of Mary, Queen of Scots, who was nonetheless a Protestant—had poisoned Scotland with his Papistry, so had his nephew Sir Thomas Hamilton operated contrary to God's will by prosecuting the ministers at Linlithgow. James in turn expressed his surprise to the Archbishop of Canterbury that Melville had called Hamilton the Antichrist and "the mickle devil" in their presence (J. Melville 661; Spottiswoode 498). James was not the only one surprised at Melville's audacity, however; Thomas McCrie reports that "the English nobility, who had not been accustomed to see the King addressed with such freedom, could not refrain from expressing their admiration at the boldness with which Melville and his associates delivered their sentiments before such an audience" (2: 147-8). Rather than speak in a conciliatory fashion, Melville portrayed himself to

James's English subjects as a sort of extremist who pushed the limits of reasoned humanist dialogue, and in doing so, provided James with a different means of defining his authority: not by moderating it in light of firm constructive criticism as he had in the past, but rather by upholding the *via media* in the face of an almost fanatical opposition.

Perhaps realising that he could strengthen both his Scottish and his English monarchical authorities by defining them against Melville's extremism, James seems to have taken steps to precipitate a series of heated encounters between them. While he may have intended the gesture to convince them of the value of his ecclesiastical policy, the fact that on 29 September he invited the Melvilles to attend an Anglican church service at the King's Chapel served only to inflame the two ministers. They were shocked by what they saw in the service. To them the "strange musick, and hie service" which attended the ceremony smacked of Popery, and more importantly, the sight of their king—a monarch who claimed to be the ecclesiastical head of the Scottish Kirk—making offerings at an altar decorated with books and candlesticks seemed to them a betrayal of both Kirk and nation (J. Melville 664). After the service, Andrew's anger at this apparent treachery rose to the surface when he was questioned by members of the Scottish Privy Council regarding the Aberdeen Assembly. He again denied their authority to judge his ministerial actions, answering "plainely and scharplie as he wes accustomit, . . . telling thame flattly, that they knew not quhat they did" in interrogating him, since they had themselves betrayed the true religion by following James's will rather than that of God (665-6). If James's intention had been to draw out Melville's most intractable and extreme verbal and doctrinal tendencies thereby establishing an opposition against which he could define his own version of monarchical authority in the church, he succeeded, for Melville responded by composing a satirical verse criticising the king and his ecclesiastical polity, one which hearkened back to that which he had used to get the king's attention at Montrose in 1600.

Melville's verse—and his later defence of it—demonstrates the sort of virulent partisan opinion which James sought to counter in his function as mediator. The epigram, translated by James Melville in his *Autobiography*, registers Andrew's criticisms of James's religious practice as follows:

On Kinglie Chappell aultar standis
 Blind candelstickis, and closit buikis,
 Dry silver basines, tuo of each:
 Quhairfor, saith he, quho luikis,
 The mynd and worschippe of the Lord
 Does England so keipe close?
 Blind in hir sycht, and buried in
 Hir filthines and drosse:
 And quhill with Roman ritis schoe does
 Hir kingly altar dress,
 Religiously a purple quhoore
 To tame sche does professe! (682-3)

Although Melville may have intended the verse for private consumption only, James received a copy of it—perhaps from Bishop of Winchester Thomas Bilson, who was Melville's chaperone for the remainder of the conference—and to him the work represented the worst of two extremes: ultra-Presbyterian accusations of Papistry. At any rate, the poem got Melville his desired audience with the king. On 30 November, James called both the Melvilles and Robert Wallace to a meeting of the King-in-Council at Whitehall to determine who was responsible for the work, and the resulting disputation provided James with a virulent and textually registered opposition against which to define his monarchical authority over his secular and ecclesiastical subjects both in Scotland and in England.

Melville's response to James's interrogation went beyond the bounds of what James would deem a necessary "charitable censure" (James VI and I, *Trew Law* 62). When questioned, Melville readily admitted that he had composed the verse out of indignation at the service he had witnessed at the King's Chapel, but when Archbishop Bancroft began to remonstrate against him, Andrew interrupted him "to tell him all his mynd, quhilk burst out as inclossit fyre in watter." In a gesture reminiscent of his 1596 altercation with James at Falkland, he shook Bancroft's sleeve, called his vestments "Romish rags," and blamed him for much of the corruption he saw in the Church. After accusing Bancroft of being a traitor for having written a treatise during Elizabeth's reign which disputed James's claim to the English throne, he then called him the enemy of all reformed churches in Europe for having profaned the sabbath, restrained preachers, and originated and propagated abuses and regressions in the Church. He closed by declaring Bancroft his own sworn enemy until "the effusioun of the last droppe of all the blood in his bodie" (J. Melville 679).

James's response to Melville's tirade was moderate yet authoritative. After his irreverent outburst, Melville was "at last put furth in a place by him self" to calm down, and was then brought back into James's presence for a sort of sentencing. The king gave James Melville and Robert Wallace "a gentill wairneing to tak heid to thair actiounes, speiches, and wryttingis too," and temporarily set them free in England (680-1). Andrew Melville, however, having "behaved himself insolently, and more like a madman, then Divine" (Spottiswoode 500), had more than just his words restrained; James again restricted his empowering mobility by placing him into the custody of the Dean of St Paul's until further notice (J. Melville 681). James Melville maintains that "the purpose of all this wes to snare Mr Andro Melvill, quhom they knew to be frie of speich," and thus facilitate "the prosecutioun of the Episcopall purpose" (681). Regardless of James's original intentions, however, when Andrew Melville crossed the established bounds of reasonable and constructive textual interplay and dialogue by demonstrating an

irreverence toward the English episcopacy, he provided the king with a new avenue of mediation by which to define his monarchical authority. By appearing to be a Presbyterian and anti-episcopal extremist, Melville allowed James to define his kingship not in conjunction with his constructive criticism, but rather in opposition to his intractable ecclesiastical position. As an advocate of the *via media*, James located Melville in a particular space—as an extreme source of fanatical opinion—and in exposing, repudiating, and containing him, defined himself both for his Scottish and his English subjects as a monarch whose authority lay in his ability to control, defuse, and find a middle ground between unacceptable extremes.

When it became apparent to James that his attempts to convince the Melvilles of the divine sanction of bishops were not succeeding, he chose a final means of establishing and demonstrating his authority over the two ministers: incarceration as a form of containment. Unable to demonstrate his ability either to work with or to convert the opposition, he chose to define himself oppositionally by exposing them as an unacceptable and unyielding extreme which needed to be suppressed and punished for the sake of the *via media*. In short, through repudiating the Melvilles and their perceived extremism by gradually restricting and finally imprisoning the ministers, James in effect presented himself to both his Scottish and his English subjects as a mediating authority whose power lay in his ability to effect a balance between the perceived dangers of extreme religious and political opinion. The semi-imprisonment of Andrew Melville in the custody of the Dean of St Paul's after his altercation with Bancroft was only the most recent in a series of restrictions by which James sought to exercise control over his apparently ungovernable loyal opposition. After Andrew Melville's initial outburst on 23 September in which he called Sir Thomas Hamilton "the mickle devil," before he allowed them to return to their lodgings at Kingston the king had charged the ministers to return neither to Scotland nor to Hampton Court until he ordered them to (J. Melville 661), an order which disempowered them not so much by imprisoning them as by placing

them in a sort of geographical and physical limbo. James's restriction of the Melvilles tightened in early October after they accused the Scottish Privy Council on 29 September of being traitors to Presbyterianism; at this time he placed the two under even closer guard, in the personal custody of the Bishops of Durham and Winchester (Calderwood 548). After Andrew's altercation with Archbishop Bancroft on 30 November, James placed him in the custody of the Dean of St Paul's, where he stayed until James ordered his transfer in March 1607 once again to the care of the Bishop of Winchester (564). In an effort to preserve his mobility and independence, however, Melville defied James by not submitting to the most recent form of house arrest. Later claiming that he had "forgott to goe to his appoyntit Bisschope" since he had been busy with other affairs and had not been adequately prompted by the king's messenger, he stayed at Kingston with the rest of the ministers for the months of March and April (J. Melville 700). Likewise, James Melville—ordered by the English Privy Council at the end of February 1607 to enter again into the custody of William James, Bishop of Durham—refused to do so (691-4). The Melvilles' blunt defiance of James's direct orders potentially undermined the king's power to rule even his secular subjects, and in order to demonstrate his authority over both his civil and ecclesiastical subjects, James ordered a final incarceration and punishment which silenced and repudiated his extreme opposition.

Demonstrating his power as judge, purveyor of justice, and advocate of the *via media*, James took steps to imprison the two ministers for disobeying his orders. On 26 April 1607, he called Andrew Melville to the Earl of Salisbury's chambers at Whitehall, but sent a clear message that the period of tolerance had come to an end. Unlike their earlier engagement in which James broke bread with his opposition, he now forced Andrew to wait outside the chamber for two hours while the royal party dined inside. Believing James to have called the meeting "in freindschippe," Melville was offended at this lack of hospitality, and returned to his lodgings to dine with his nephew. Almost immediately upon his return to Kingston, a messenger from the king interrupted him at his dinner and

told him to return to Westminster to meet with the Privy Council. At this meeting, the king remained hidden in an adjoining chamber, and Melville was thus more free with the Council than he might have been; he refused to retract his libellous epigram, and again refused to swear allegiance to James as head of the Kirk. Having heard these refusals, James then charged Melville with treason and ordered him conveyed to the Tower of London (J. Melville 706-8). Within two weeks, on 10 May 1607, the king imprisoned James Melville as well, ordering him to take up lodgings in Newcastle and remain within a two mile radius of them "under the paine of rebellioun"—a similar aristocratic punishment to that which he had formerly imposed upon Andrew Melville. Although James Melville pleaded with the king to allow him to be imprisoned in London near Andrew, James refused, believing that the key to nullifying the ministers' power was to divide, conquer, and contain them (709-10).

James did not imprison the Melvilles after the meeting at Hampton Court solely to isolate them and facilitate his official reintroduction of the episcopacy into the Kirk, however; rather, his bodily suppression of his opposing "texts" had a number of aspects which helped define and solidify his monarchical position in both Scotland and England. For example, his very ability to judge and imprison two clerics because of their refusal to subscribe to both his secular and ecclesiastical authority consolidated the position which he had sought to define for himself in Scotland for almost three decades: ruler of both Kirk and State. But for James, imprisoning the Melvilles was more than a simple act of controlling the body; as well as serving to capture them physically and locate them in a particular space, it served to domesticate their ideological energy firmly within the pale of royal control. When he imprisoned the two Melvilles and even went as far as to strip Andrew of his principalship of the New College (McCrie 2: 188-9), on a practical level James defined and confirmed his monarchical authority in Scotland by disenfranchising and disempowering his most fervent Scottish opposition. And in disempowering the Melvilles, he launched a pre-emptive strike against any potential English opposition to

his authority by demonstrating his God-like power as monarch to either create or destroy—and thus control—both his ecclesiastical and secular subjects in his new kingdom. By imprisoning the ministers after they vehemently refused either to negotiate with him or to moderate their opposition to his authority in the Kirk, he defined himself for both his Scottish and English subjects as a king who necessarily engaged with but did not necessarily bow to men of extreme action or opinion.

The way James treated the Melvilles during their imprisonment further shows how he defined his kingship according to the *via media*, for although he imprisoned both men with virtually no notice, kept them physically separated from each other, and restricted their opportunities for communication with others, he moderated his punishment by treating the scholars with the sort of leniency reserved for nobility. While the offer was in his own best interest, he nonetheless showed a degree of flexibility by offering to release James Melville if he would renounce his Presbyterianism and accept a bishopric (Pitcairn xviii), and when Melville's wife Elizabeth died sometime in 1609 or 1610, he allowed the imprisoned minister to return to his home at Anstruther to attend to family matters (McCrie 2: 183). After his return from Anstruther, James Melville was then placed under loose house arrest in Berwick—so loose, in fact, that he was able to remarry in 1612 (Pitcairn xv).

Similarly, Andrew Melville received relatively kind treatment at the king's hand during his imprisonment. Although James kept him completely isolated from the outside world for the first ten months, he eventually allowed him "several interviews" with other prisoners, including the scholar-aristocrat Sir Walter Raleigh (McCrie 2: 263). As well, on several occasions when Melville was in poor health, the king granted him a few days to spend within ten miles of London—although not at court—in order to get fresh air (273). James entertained various plans for Melville's liberty: releasing him to La Rochelle, France, to become professor of Divinity at the Protestant college there (198-9); exiling him to Virginia, since Melville had expressed "a serious intention of going to the New

World" (212-3); exiling him to Sedan, France, where the Duke of Bouillon wished him to teach at the Protestant college. James chose the final option, and in April of 1611 released Melville from the Tower so that he could sail to Sedan to take up his new post (271). James Melville died at Berwick on 19 January 1614, after nearly seven years in royal custody, and Andrew died at Sedan in 1622 having served four years in prison and eleven years in exile. Although their final years in prison and exile were by no means easy ones, the king permitted some degree of freedom for his erstwhile constructive critics. Perhaps this was a means of repaying them for their service as a loyal opposition who helped him to define himself intertextually as a Scottish and English king whose authority lay partly in his powers of engagement, mediation, judgement, and discipline; at any rate, it was an effective way of articulating to his subjects of both countries that he was a benevolent authority, an enlightened monarch committed to engaging in dialogue and following the *via media*.

Tom Steel argues that along with the union of the crowns in 1603, James desired that "there should be one religion in Scotland and England" (149), a religion based upon the Church's submission to the monarch through the institution of the episcopacy. Although James may have entertained these plans of unifying his two churches under the Anglican banner—and even reinstituted the Scottish episcopacy to this end—after his meeting with the Melvilles at Hampton Court, he did not force this ecclesiastical policy to its logical conclusion. Instead, he seems to have seriously considered the Melvilles' criticisms, for he followed the *via media* by making the Kirk a compromise between the Presbyterian and Anglican creeds. Although James repudiated the Melvilles' virulent opposition to his authority over the Kirk by consecrating bishops to exercise that very authority, he nonetheless took their opposition into account; rather than forcing the Kirk to become an Anglican church, he left it with some degree of national independence by making it a Presbyterian one with an Anglican-style episcopacy. Although the Kirk was ruled on earth by the monarch through his bishops, it was still the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland

rather than a branch of the Church of England. Thomas McCrie argues that through his constant criticism of James's religious policy, Andrew Melville was responsible for the unique and lasting character of the Scottish Kirk, if not of the Scottish nation:

If the love of pure religion, rational liberty, and polite letters, forms the basis of national virtue and happiness, I know no individual, after her Reformer, from whom Scotland has received greater benefits, and to whom she owes a deeper debt of gratitude and respect, than Andrew Melville. (McCrie 2: 449)

Perhaps as a sort of "Presbyterian hagiographer" McCrie overstates the case, but he is correct to a point; because James was willing to engage with them as critical texts both in Scotland and in England, Andrew Melville and his nephew helped the king to determine his religious policy in both nations, and thus helped him to define himself as a mediating authority over both Church and State.

So odious to James were Andrew Melville's limiting ideas of the monarch's role within both Kirk and State, Mark Fortier argues, that the king developed his divine-right monarchical theory most firmly in opposition to the minister, who along with George Buchanan, formed his "most troubling opposition" (1267). In characterising Buchanan and Melville as simply a "troubling opposition" against whom James had to define himself, however, Fortier fails to consider the subtlety with which James engaged with these two figures, and oversimplifies James's relationship to them and the other texts through which he developed his theory of monarchy. Granted, in some instances, saying that Buchanan and Melville were "troublesome" for James is an understatement, for their opposition to his secular and ecclesiastical authority occasionally drew his ire and drove him to repressive measures: the censure of Buchanan's writings in 1584, and the various imprisonments and exiles of Melville beginning that same year. Yet the relationship between the student James and the instructor Buchanan was one marked by a continuing engagement in which the young king at some times rejected and at other times accepted Buchanan's text-based teachings as he developed a rudimentary formulation of his

monarchical authority. Similarly, the adult James's relationship to the "troublesome" Melvilles was more complex than one of simple blind opposition; the two ministers were a necessary formative opposition—an almost profitable one—with whom James engaged in a dialogical manner as he defined, refined, and articulated his authority as head of both Church and State. In short, James relied on the Melvilles as interpretable texts and even sought out their criticism, for they served both as convenient oppositional stalking-horses whom he could knock down and define himself against, and as figures with whom he could identify as he consolidated ideas from a variety of textual sources to create a coherent theory of divine-right monarchy first in Scotland and then in England.

For James, then, the Melvilles were the ultimate living texts, fellow participants in an intertextual Bakhtinian dialogue which spanned two countries and helped define the nature of monarchical authority in each. In Scotland, on the heels of his Erasmian education by the humanists Buchanan and Young, James continually engaged with the Melvilles on a variety of ideological religious fronts—written, verbal, and even physical—as he sought to establish himself as a mediating, merciful, yet authoritative ruler of both Kirk and State. In the conventional intertextual sense, he engaged directly with the Melvilles *via* the written word, requiting Andrew Melville's 1578 *Presbyterian Second Book of Discipline* with the May 1584 "Black Acts," legislation which made Kirk government the responsibility not of presbyteries, but rather of bishops responsible to the monarch. James refused to define his kingship simply in opposition to the Melvilles, however. After Andrew Melville received du Bartas' blessing in 1587, he and his nephew received the king's conditional blessing as well, a blessing which afforded them the role of "loyal opposition" or "constructive critic." Out of this spirit of mediation grew the 1592 "Golden Acts," a temporary ecclesiastical compromise in which James incorporated some of the Presbyterian ministers' suggestions in order to counterbalance the perceived Catholic threat which had arisen in the wake of the 1588 Spanish Armada. If James's written exchanges with the Melvilles regarding the role of the episcopacy—and

hence the king—in the government of the Kirk portrayed him as a mediator between extreme religious views and the judge of his subjects, his verbal engagements with the “vive voice” (J. Melville 279) of the Melvilles and his physical ones with the two ministers allowed him to define himself as an authoritative yet moderate monarch. His 1584 confrontation with Andrew Melville regarding the “Black Acts” afforded him the opportunity of engaging directly with the living word as opposition, and the Melvilles’ subsequent exile provided him with a sort of textual control over the ministers through his restriction and eventual forgiveness of them. Similarly, by engaging with the Melvilles at Falkland in 1596 and demonstrating a degree of capitulation and moderation in the face of their extreme ecclesiastical but loyal secular criticism, James defined himself as a Scottish king who was willing to consider the political suggestions of others and even incorporate them into his own practice of rule, and in doing so created an intertextual political theory and practice.

Upon his accession to the English throne, at a time when he had not yet clearly determined and articulated his kingly authority as he had done in Scotland, James found in the Melvilles a personal and textual link to his monarchical apprenticeship in Scotland which enabled him to define his role as king both for himself and for his subjects. In an English context at Hampton Court in 1606, he once again sought out and engaged with the criticism of the two “maist fathfull and trustie subjects” (J. Melville 317) who had consistently influenced the development of his monarchical rule in Scotland. By treating the Melvilles as texts at this meeting—texts to be addressed, disseminated, repudiated, suppressed, and finally treated with some degree of leniency—James theoretically outlined and practically demonstrated his function as a king committed to dialogue, mediation, adjudication, discipline, and mercy. Keeping in mind—and even in body—the means by which he had developed and consolidated his rule in Scotland, he initially gave his English kingship an intertextual foundation built upon the techniques of dialogue and mediation. In short, James was a king who was created by texts, first through his

engagement with humanist works during his early theoretical education, and then through his longstanding dialogue with the Melvilles during his later practical development and articulation of monarchical power. And as his own written works of the 1590s would show, having realised the degree to which he had been created by the texts of others, he himself became a creator of texts in an effort to further define and consolidate his authority as king.

Notes.

¹In his *Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melvill*, James Melville records that this is how his uncle Andrew described himself and his nephew to James at Falkland in September 1596 (371).

²For the sake of consistency, I use the spelling *Melville* throughout the body of this dissertation and in quotations from contemporary sources, although the name also appears variously as *Melvil*, *Melvill*, *Melvin*, and *Melvyn* in accounts of the time.

³James Melville's diary is a crucial but potentially problematic contemporary source. While Melville obviously had the closest first-hand glimpse of his uncle Andrew's tempestuous relationship with the king, the fact that he believed "that Scotland receavit never a graitter benefit at the hands of God nor this man" (38) renders his work even more partisan than either Calderwood's or Spottiswoode's. While saying that Melville's work has about it "the indelible impress of truth" (Pitcairn xv) might be an overstatement, as one of the few contemporary works containing any significant amount of detail about the Melvilles' involvement in the Kirk this diary is nonetheless an indispensable source for any examination of either James or Andrew Melville.

⁴Given both his religious convictions and his family's association with James VI and I (his father had in fact placed the crown on James's head at the infant king's 1567 coronation), Spottiswoode in his Kirk history is somewhat biased. Spottiswoode attended James on his journey from Edinburgh to London in 1603, and that same year became Archbishop of Glasgow. By 1615, he was Primate and Metropolitan of all Scotland, and was actually commissioned to write his history by James himself, who made available to Spottiswoode all necessary state papers. Interestingly, Spottiswoode knew all concerned parties, for in addition to being a Jacobean ecclesiastical figure, he had been a student of James Melville's at the time when Andrew Melville was Principal

of the College of Glasgow (McCrie 1: 142). Spottiswoode's first-hand account forms a nice counterbalance to Calderwood's, and by walking a line between these two fiercely impassioned works, I hope to provide an accurate view of James's dealings in the Kirk.

⁵Calderwood's accuracy as a source for much of the information in this chapter is somewhat tainted by the fact that he was a sworn enemy of James VI and I's, having been deprived of his livings, imprisoned, and eventually exiled following his opposition to the 1617 Five Articles of Perth. His account of late seventeenth-century Kirk history was likely also influenced by the fact that he was commissioned to write it by the General Assembly. Partisan as his version of history may be, however, it is nonetheless a useful contemporary source, since as a minister at Craillig, Calderwood was present for many of the events which he describes.

⁶McCrie claims that the incident took place at the August 1575 Assembly rather than in March (1: 110), but either way, Melville's virulent but clever opposition to the episcopacy remains and hardly seems uncharacteristic.

⁷This sermon, which is not extant, dealt with Chapter 4 of the Book of Daniel, where King Nebuchadnezzar's rule and personal well-being are in jeopardy until he realises that he must "praise and extol and honour the King of heaven" (Daniel 5:37).

**Chapter 3. "Censured by Some of the Best Skilled Men in That Craft":¹ The Major
Intertextual Prose Writings of James VI and I**

By 1607, the peace which James Stuart had brought to Scotland caused him to boast in an address to his English Parliament that through his deputies, he governed Scotland by written instruction rather than by any display of physical force: "This I must say for Scotland, and I may trewly vaunt it; Here I sit and gouerne it with my Pen, I write and it is done, and by a Clarke of the Councell I gouerne Scotland now, which others could not doe by the sword" (*Speech of 1607* 173). Superficially, this statement, which perhaps exaggerated James's control over his northern kingdom, articulated his belief that his subjugation of Scotland was so complete that the royal pen stroke had the force of law and both validated and enforced his authority. Yet it demonstrates that James's pen was mightier than his sword on a basic level wherein the royal word did not simply enforce his power in Scotland, but actually played a role in creating it. As an avowed pacifist and the "peacemaker of Europe," James rarely considered the rule of the fist to be an option, but instead, continually relied on the rule of the pen as a means of establishing and consolidating his royal authority in both kingdoms. His ability to govern Scotland by pen was neither incidental nor simply an example of how thorough his royal control was. Rather, it was a crucial means of establishing his control in the first place. In short, James did not govern Scotland by pen merely by asserting his authority, but also *by creating it* during his early years in Scotland. His government through the written word in Scotland did not exist solely in affixing his signature to official documents, but manifested itself also in his poetic, philosophical, political, and religious writings whose content, circumstances of production, and very existence served as enforcers of his monarchical authority.

Yet despite his confident assertion that "I write and it is done," developing and implementing his monarchical theory in writing was not a monological or one-sided process in which he articulated his political philosophy without any sort of input from others. Rather, as a political writer trained in the humanist practice of mediation, he participated in a dialogue with both supporters and critics, with the result that his monarchical theory and policy continually developed in response to the works and actions of others. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Bakhtin's study of the novel argues that art develops in a dialogical forum, and Julia Kristeva sums up Bakhtin's theory by stating that it is "a model where literary structure does not simply *exist* but is generated in relation to *another* structure" ("Word" 35-6). James developed his art of kingship in a similar manner, responding to opposing political and religious views by at times either accepting or rejecting them, and often incorporating them into his own monarchical theory. For the most part, his literary career in the 1580s and 90s was a running dialogue with his political "others," of whom Andrew and James Melville are the most notable. In short, like the novel in Bakhtin's study, James's political art did not develop "in a vacuum" in the 1580s and 90s, but instead evolved in a dialogical process in which he defined his polity in an intertextual manner in relation to the political works and actions of others.

Although James's Scottish reign saw the publication of at least three of his most defining political tracts—the *Daemonologie*, *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, and *Basilicon Doron*—not all critics consider his authorship to have been important to his development and articulation of monarchical authority. Jennifer Brown, for example, while acknowledging that James was "that unusual phenomenon, a king who wrote books" (24), nonetheless fails to connect his writings with his attempts to define his political identity. She in fact goes so far as to argue that as far as developing, implementing, and enforcing his political order, "there was little in his approach to these problems that was in any way novel" (30), an assertion which does not take into account

his unique use of a dialogical literary process to construct, articulate, and implement his view of himself as a divine-right monarch. Aware since his youth of the authority inherent in the written text and of the value humanist dialogue, James viewed his writings and his engagement with those of others as crucial to his kingship. This longstanding belief—as well as the extensive body of his written work—set him apart from other contemporary monarchs and helps explain much of his monarchical policy. In contrast to Brown, Kevin Sharpe states that as a Renaissance monarch, James lived in a period in which “royal authorings . . . had become central to the sustenance of royal authority” (“Writ” 119), and for James this assertion is especially true, for the royal word had become an important means of communicating his monarchical authority. Yet James did not simply *live* in a period in which the word sustained royal authority; as a published royal author who “entered the print market in an attempt to shape the role of the monarchy” (Bell 193) and thereby initiated a literary and political dialogue with his subjects, he helped *create* it.

To understand the importance of James's writings to this consolidation of monarchical authority, one must first be aware of the general way in which written texts developed, articulated, and enforced his polity. Certain texts enforced his mature monarchical ideas in a straightforward fashion, in which he wrote—or at least affixed his signature to—a document which had the force of law, such as a royal proclamation: “I write and it is done.” Moreover, as the rest of this chapter demonstrates, other texts helped develop his views of authority by entering him into a Bakhtinian humanist engagement with his critics and supporters, a dialogue during which he used his writings to revise his political views by maintaining some, altering or even abandoning others, and incorporating ideas from the writings of his supporters and critics. The question remains, however, as to what general monarchical ideologies James's written works such as the *Daemonologie*, *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, and *Basilicon Doron* articulated in order to enter into this revitalising textual dialogue with figures such as the Melvilles.

Three main aspects of a work articulated a number of monarchical ideologies to James's target audience: its content, the circumstances of its production, and even the medium which comprised it. Probably the most common and obvious of these methods by which James conveyed a political message was through the content, in the conventional propagandist way, where a work is, among other things, a vehicle or medium for political ideology. Such a literary process helped James articulate a number of general and specific divine-right ideologies through content. For example, a work such as *Basilicon Doron* might function as a vehicle for the expression of any number of pre-existing divine-right ideologies, presenting James as a wise and just ruler, as a powerful physical presence, or even as a mediating figure fulfilling an intermediary role ordained by God. Other works portrayed the monarch as a powerful figure in the most general of ways—imposing and commanding through a depiction of physical or military might, or authoritative in a fatherly sense, the *pater patriae* or father of the nation as in the *Daemonologie*. Alternatively, in panegyric works by others, the monarch was the subject of general praise, appearing as a dignified, wise, and just figure worthy of his title and beloved by his subjects. Other ideologies in a work's content communicated to a contemporary audience a more specific view of the monarch: that of a ruler whose power was of divine origin, and who could use his royal prerogative to supersede natural laws which he saw as impeding his duty to rule for the good of the commonwealth (Sommerville "English and European" 180). Such a work declared the inviolable nature of the monarch's position by emphasising how the king's function in government was similar to God's in religion since his authority was, in James's opinion, a "resemblance of Diuine power vpon earth" (*Speech of 1609* 181). And the most pervasive and specific divine-right ideology which a work's content conveyed, especially for James rather than for any other monarch, was the concept of mediation. James prided himself on being "Great Britain's Solomon," the inscrutable mediator who gained power by being above faction since "it is precisely in ambiguity that power resides" (Goldberg 12). In addition

to holding a position of authority over his subjects by being the judge and reconciler in his kingdoms, James held a position of power with respect to his monarchical counterparts on the Continent, for he was known also as "the peacemaker of Europe," a king whose mediating function lifted him above the disputes of his "equals." Works which communicated these mediating functions of the king further emphasised James's authority, for they reinforced his most important political and religious role as mediator: his position as God's representative on earth, the intermediary figure between God and humans, an idea which is the linchpin of divine-right monarchical theory.

Moreover, the king's authorship of a work implied divine origin and sanction for his power by emphasising his divinity both as inspired author and as godly monarch. The role of author contained multiple implications—of "initiative, autonomy, inventiveness, creativity, authority, or originality" (Pease 105)—which reinforced James's idea of himself as a political and religious originator and authority. Consequently, James's God-like power as author enabled him to control language in the literary realm, just as he could create and destroy subjects in his religious and political ones. Jonathan Goldberg says that it is no accident that "the root of *authority* is *author*" (18), and crucial to James's developing authority was his increasing ability to control the written word through his authorship of texts. Keenly aware of "the ideological function of writing as an instrument of royal power" (55), he used his authorship to portray himself as a king in command not just of the political word, but also of the political world. Yet in addition to controlling the realm of words indirectly through his role as author, he could also control it directly yet subtly through the ideological implications inherent in the various media both he and others used for their writing. Translations contained within their unique media the idea of the king as mediator between God and humans—the traditional position of the divine-right monarch. And with his own political and poetic writings, James took direct control of the written word and imbued it with order, acting as a divinely inspired creative and ordering force whose power was akin to that of the monarch who could

create and destroy men with a word. As patron and author, James experimented with poetry as he sought to define his specific brand of mediating divine-right authority. More importantly for this chapter, however, as a king who through his authorship was "a prolific and systematic theorist of his own authority" (Fortier 1267), he demonstrated the degree to which a monarch could systematically use political tracts and religious directives to engage in a productive political dialogue with his subjects and thus textually develop his principles of monarchical rule.

Although they were not physically or ideologically located near the centre of power by 1597 as they had been during James Melville's brief stint as a Privy Councillor, the Melvilles nonetheless had a distinct influence upon James VI's authorship in the later 1590s. Their 1596 altercation with the king at Falkland was the Melvilles' most significant personal engagement with James, and as such, marked a watershed between the king's theoretical and printed ideas of monarchy. In particular, this incident provided an impetus for James's writing in that it convinced him that he must consolidate his developing political theory by rendering it in the lasting form whose importance Buchanan had demonstrated to him in his youth: as a published text. When the Melvilles came "uncallit" by the king to the Convention of the Estates at Falkland Palace in September 1596 and questioned James "in sa zealus, powerfull, and unresistable a maner," their opposition constituted a verbal and ideological one, much as it had for the preceding twenty years. But when Andrew seized James by the sleeve and told him that his monarchical policy was "'devilishe'" (J. Melville 368-371), he actualised his opposition in physical terms, and in so doing, incited James to actualise his policy in physical ones as well—in the body of his written works. After the incident at Falkland, James decided to stabilise and authorise in writing the twenty-year theoretical dialogue in which he had been engaged with the Melvilles, and the result was a rapid succession of printed statements of political and religious policy: the 1597 *Daemonologie*, the 1598 *Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, and the 1599 *Basilicon Doron*. As advocates of the

Presbyterian Second Book of Discipline and opponents of the episcopacy, from 1578 into the 1590s the Melvilles remained in constant critical opposition to the king, with a significant political and literary result: James's written works which articulate his authority in the Kirk and advance the bishops as his means of maintaining it developed in light of his twenty-year dialogue with them regarding the existence of Kirk government as a democratic or absolutist form. In short, the Melvilles as intertexts had a tremendous influence upon James and his polity through the later 1590s, particularly with respect to the written monarchical texts which he created to further define and articulate his authority. In their personal disputations with the king regarding the monarch's role in the Kirk, the Melvilles provide the primary intertextual link between the *Presbyterian Second Book of Discipline* and James's later textual statements of religious and political policy, and in so doing always remain in the background of the king's written works. In examining James's political works of the later 1590s, then, one must consider them as texts which were developed and written in theory before James ever put them down in print, for they constituted part of James's intertextual dialogue with the Melvilles—a dialogue which began in earnest with the composition of the *Second Book of Discipline* in 1578.

James's first major political and religious prose work—the 1597 *Daemonologie*—relied heavily upon his past intertextual engagements with the Melvilles. For example, the prolonged dialogue regarding monarchical authority over the Kirk in which James had been engaged with the Melvilles followed the humanist teachings of Buchanan and furnished the very form which his *Daemonologie* was to take: a learned dialogue between two opposing but congenial disputants. More importantly, with their critical opposition to his ecclesiastical policy in the intervening years between the Assembly's ratification of the *Second Book of Discipline* and the publication of the *Daemonologie*, the Melvilles had reinforced in James what Buchanan had instilled in him almost from birth—that one can properly define oneself only in relation to a necessary textual other. And with their

accusations of the "devilishe" nature of his political practice and the influence of his counsellors, they provided him with a logical (or perhaps illogical) ungodly other against which to define his conception of divine-right monarchy: witchcraft. With respect to the *Daemonologie*, then, the Melvilles function as an implicit intertext, a cultural and religious oppositional authority as influential upon James as the published scholarly one provided by Reginald Scot and Jean Wier.

As cultural, political, religious, and intellectual intertexts, the Melvilles induced James to remonstrate publicly against more "devilish" oppositional forces which he believed to have been undermining his authority for several years. Although before 1580 James owned at least two books which dealt with witchcraft—Eloy Damerval's *Le livre de la Deablerie* and a book which Peter Young records as *Hemmingius de superstitionibus magicis* ("Library of Mary" 6; 18)—during the period of his minority he had little interest in witchcraft, and in fact prosecuted it as a criminal and doctrinal offence only in the last thirteen years he spent in Scotland (Larner 75-6). After 1590, however, an accumulation of events precipitated his interest not just in legally prosecuting, but also in textually opposing the practice. In the autumn of 1589, James's bride, Anne of Denmark, set out by ship for Scotland to celebrate a marriage which had been effected only by proxy, but bad weather forced the Danish Admiral Peter Munk—who later told James that witches conspiring against the king had caused this turn of events (Kernan 84)—to take her to Oslo. In a gallant effort to rescue Anne, James sailed to Norway, and after a great deal of wooing and feasting, then continued with her overland to Copenhagen, where he spent the winter doing more of the same. In April of 1590, he attempted to return with Anne to Scotland, and although they arrived safely, rough seas had slowed their passage and caused the loss of one of their attendant ships. Firmly convinced that "divers practises of witchcraft and devilrie was against him" on both sides of the North Sea (J. Melville 279) after the apprehension of suspected witches

in Denmark, James ordered the arrest of the "North Berwick Witches" for plotting against his life (Larner 80).

The details which came out in the subsequent trials only increased his emotional and "pathological hatred of witches" (Fraser 57). The prosecution alleged that the suspected witches had thrown cats and human body parts into the sea in order to raise the storms in question, and the primary suspect, Agnes Sampson, did nothing to refute this when at trial she reportedly recited to James the very words which he had said to Anne on their wedding night (Larner 84-5). Perhaps even more disturbing for the king was the allegation that the witches had passed James's handkerchief to the Devil and prophesied that James's kinsman, Francis, Earl of Bothwell would orchestrate the king's downfall. One of the conspirators, Richard Graham, went so far as to admit that Bothwell had in fact asked him to cast a spell over James (Kernan 85). Jailed at Edinburgh Castle on account of these charges, the "Wizard Earl" of Bothwell escaped from custody in June of 1591, and promptly began an erratic two-year "program" of terrorising the king—one which further solidified James's belief that his divinely ordained kingship was under threat from an ungodly opposition.

This ungodly opposition posed both a physical and a theoretical threat to James as king. The alleged actions of Bothwell and the "North Berwick Witches" constituted a domestic threat to James's personal safety, and thus impinged on his kingship at the most basic personal level. His response to this was immediate, as he initiated the witchcraft trials and kept them afloat, so to speak, by operating behind the scenes in the spring of 1591 to ensure that the juries convicted the suspected conspirators (Larner 81), much as he would later do at the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh. But witchcraft was more than a threat simply to his person; it was also a theoretical and even a practical one to his monarchical authority as head of Kirk. Christina Larner believes that the alleged secret outdoor midnight meetings of witches were an ironic parallel to the public, enclosed, daytime services of the Kirk, and thus formed an apparently sinister alternative to the

liturgy of the established faith. Furthermore, she says that in its descriptions of black witchcraft, or *maleficium*, Christian theory gave "a central position to the idea of the demonic pact." To a monarch who believed that he was God's lieutenant on earth in both Kirk and State, a subject's subscription to the power of Satan in such a pact constituted a direct repudiation of the monarch's divinely ordained role as intermediary between subject and God. Furthermore, the Kirk believed that in the "demonic pact," Satan "promised material advantages and magical powers" to his followers (74) in a Faustian sort of way. These Satanic promises potentially undermined the royal patronage system in which the divinely anointed monarch was the wellspring of the political and religious orders—the source from which all power, favour and wealth flowed. Through its practical and theoretical threats to the monarch's position as a mediating and divinely ordained ruler of the secular and ecclesiastical realms, then, witchcraft—or at least perceived witchcraft—had several anti-monarchical aspects which James sought to eliminate. Just as both the Catholic and Reformed Churches of Europe had sought out, exposed, and prosecuted each other in an effort to consolidate their control over ecclesiastical affairs, James attempted to use a variety of means to repudiate witchcraft as a potentially subversive opposition to his monarchical authority.

Trying suspected witches for doctrinal heresy was his most immediate but not his most significant means of attempting to eliminate witchcraft. After the passing of the Scottish Witchcraft Act under the supervision of John Knox in 1563 and before James's active involvement in the prosecution of suspected witches in 1590, witchcraft had become a doctrinal offence which was punishable by death. During the first two decades of his reign, however, James showed little interest in prosecuting witchcraft on doctrinal grounds, and a conviction seldom resulted in the suspect's execution (Larner 76-7). After 1590, however, when witchcraft appeared to be impinging upon statecraft and threatening his kingship not just in a doctrinal but also in a tangible physical way, James became intensely interested in prosecuting it, but on criminal rather than doctrinal

grounds. Fearing for the safety of his person and thus of his position as king, in the 1590-91 trials of the "North Berwick Witches" he charged the suspects not with the ecclesiastical crime of sorcery, but rather with the secular one of treason for having conspired against the life of the king (78-9). As a result, these witch trials "were to James treason trials before they were sorcery trials," and as "treason-cum-sorcery" trials (80; 82) had an inherently political focus as a means of exposing and negating the Satanic other which he perceived as a threat to his kingship. After 1590, then, James was interested in witchcraft as a political rather than a doctrinal offence, and the witch trials presented an opportunity not so much to protect the Kirk from an ungodly religious assault as to protect the secular and ecclesiastical position of the monarch. Christina Lerner neatly sums up James's political rather than doctrinal interest in the prosecution of witches: "it was not the witch theory which James had been incubating during his fearful and clergy-ridden youth; it was the doctrine of the divine right of kings" (83). After this incubation period, after his involvement in the witch trials which prosecuted his adversaries for treason, and more immediately, after the Melvilles accused him in 1596 of exercising "devilishe" political policies, James concerned himself primarily with effecting a theoretical repudiation of witchcraft in order to expose and undermine its anti-monarchical potential. With the 1597 publication of the *Daemonologie*, he began textually consolidating this theory of the divine right of kings by defining his kingship against a Satanic other: witchcraft, a practice which he believed indeed existed and as a subversion of his divinely ordained monarchy posed a threat to both king and country.

James's initial strategy in the *Daemonologie* is to expose the opposition by establishing that witchcraft is a Satanic and anti-monarchical practice which truly does exist. In order to do this, he creates the *Daemonologie* in three books, couching witchcraft in the second book between its attendant practices, the performance of general magic and the invocation of spirits. Armed with a new-found interest in witchcraft, he begins by engaging with what had been two long-neglected literal intertexts, Jean Wier's

1577 *Liber apologeticus; et pseudo-monarchia daemonum*, and especially Reginald Scot's 1584 *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*. Like Wier, in his work Scot is sceptical at best about the existence and demonical activities of witches, so in the preface to the *Daemonologie*, James refutes Scot's denial made "in publike print . . . that there can be such a thing as Witch-craft" (*Daemonologie* xi). Each of the *Daemonologie*'s three books has as its primary argument the threatening presence of witches in Scotland, regardless of Scot's claims to the contrary for England: Book One uses the Scriptures to demonstrate that the "unlawfull artes" of black magic "have bene and may be put in practise" anywhere; Book Two refines this argument about general magic by claiming "that such a thing can be" as witches; Book Three leaves no doubt about the activities of witches by concluding that black magic engenders several "kindes of Spirites that troubles men or women" (1; 27; 56). Believing himself to have been personally afflicted by the menace of witchcraft through the alleged sorcery of the "North Berwick Witches" and the erratic actions of Bothwell, and threatened by Scot's denial of an oppositional force against which he sought to define his divinely ordained kingship, James does his utmost at the beginning of each book of the *Daemonologie* to counter Scot's claims by delineating the existing and active forces of witchcraft. So vehement and longstanding was James's desire to establish and ultimately destroy his necessary Satanic opposition that he reportedly burned as many existing copies of Scot's work as he could find upon his arrival in England (Larner 85) in an effort to further negate Scot's claims and convince others of his own belief that witchcraft was a force whose eradication necessarily strengthened the monarch's authority over both Church and State. Using Scot as an intertextual stalking-horse akin to the Melvilles, James both at the outset of his work and long after the publication of the text itself asserted that witchcraft—a taboo which represented the limit of his humanist tolerance—was a genuine and active opposition to the divine-right monarch.

The trope of dialogical argument runs right through the work and on a basic level increases James's authority as a moderate writer, theorist, and monarch. Having "put it in forme of a Dialogue" (James VI and I, *Daemonologie* xii) with himself taking the role of Epistemon and a sceptic such as Scot taking the role of Philomathes, James ensures that the *Daemonologie* appears to be a reasoned discourse rather than a fanatical and one-sided presentation of the evils of witchcraft. By using a dialogical format to argue "that such assaultes of Sathan are most certainly practized, & that the instruments thereof, merits most severly to be punished" (xxi), James engages in a humanist argument akin to the Platonic dialogue, and thus is able to couch what may have seemed to many to have been an incredible argument in a credible and time-honoured format. The Platonic presentation of both potential sides of the argument further enhances his credibility and authority as writer by allowing him to acknowledge, consider, and then refute his opposition point by point. Using a standard argumentative trope to define himself in a moderate manner against a sceptical opposition in the text, he presents himself as an open-minded and mediating figure who is able to adjudicate between opposing viewpoints and reach a balanced and well-reasoned conclusion. Following his humanist training at the hands of Buchanan and its refinement through his dealings with the Melvilles, then, James appears in the *Daemonologie* as a moderate, mediating disputant, a figure willing to engage with others in a reasonable manner regarding the intricacies of religion and kingship.

Yet although he portrays himself as being willing to engage in enlightened discussion with his subjects, he does not portray himself as a disputant or monarch who concedes any of his authority by entering into discussion in the first place. Rather, throughout the work, as Epistemon he repeatedly demonstrates himself to be a confident authority who alone has a true understanding of witchcraft and the threat which it entails. In his first speech to his English Parliament in March of 1603/4, James outlined that a benevolent ruler procures "the wealth and prosperitie of his people," while a tyrant uses his subjects

as a means to satisfy "his desires and vnreasonable appetites" ("Speech of 1603" 143). That is, the benevolent ruler gives, while the tyrant takes and reserves for himself. Perhaps feeling that as a self-styled benevolent ruler he had lessened the mystique of the king and given too much of his authority away by engaging in dialogue with his subjects, James reserves a degree of authority for himself in the *Daemonologie* by portraying himself as the sole person truly able to comprehend and punish the most serious taboo: the insidious and sinister practice of witchcraft which in his opinion goes far beyond the bounds of acceptable constructive criticism. As his name suggests, Philomathes, the sceptical disputant, loves logical, linear modes of thought such as mathematics, and proves himself unable to grasp on his own the supernatural basis of witchcraft. At one point in the disputation, he even expresses his inability to understand how "God should permit anie man-kynde . . . to fall in so grosse and filthie a defection" (*Daemonologie* 6) as witchcraft; at another, he argues that he can see no difference between the practice of arts such as astrology and the study of disciplines such as mathematics which "are thinges lawfull, and haue bene approued for such in all times and ages" (12). James's dialogical alter-ego, Epistemon—perhaps "man of knowledge" from the conjunction of the Greek "episteme" and the Scots "mon"—is repeatedly able to answer Philomathes' questions. By the end of the discourse, he manages to make his ignorant companion admit that "diuellishe practises . . . were neuer so rife in these partes, as they are now," and that witchcraft as a doctrinal and criminal offence "ought to be . . . seuerely punished" by the monarch (81; 78).

As a purveyor of knowledge about the evils of witchcraft, then, James/Epistemon portrays himself as the sole authority on the mystifying power which attempts to confound the divinely ordained order of monarchical rule. In doing so, he reserves for the king the unique position of combating the Satanic order of things, and signifies his difference both from his subjects and from those who practise witchcraft. While he refers the reader to the works of "Hyperivs, & Hemmingivs" in order to get an overview

of the ancients' views on witchcraft (xv), he defers to no worldly author as a textual authority from whom he has gained his knowledge. Instead, he makes direct textual references to one work only—the Bible—as he delineates obscure aspects of witchcraft and reinforces his position as an interpreter of Scripture, God's lieutenant on earth, and the champion of the divine earthly order. His work is the final word on witchcraft, a state-of-the-art text, so to speak, which contains monarchical insights on the origins, manifestations, and punishment of witchcraft to which only he himself is privy through divine revelation in the Scriptures and personal experience with the "North Berwick Witches." James further creates a gulf between him and his subjects by arguing that a monarch's personal experience and divine knowledge place upon him a responsibility greater than that borne by any other human. He says that if a king decides "to spare the life, and not to strike when God bids strike, and so seuerelie punish . . . so odious a fault & treason against God, it is not only vnlawful, but doubtlesse no lesse sinne in that Magistrate" than the original offence. That is, if a monarch is negligent in his divinely ordained duty to punish suspected witches, his offence—tolerating witchcraft and so defying the will of God—is "comparable to the sin of Witch-craft it self" (78). In short, because a monarch's immense responsibility at the top of the political and religious hierarchy places him far above his subjects, his failure to fulfil it is a greater sin than that which any subject could commit. By authoring the *Daemonologie*, "James himself [became] the principal, if not the sole, purveyor to his people of the concept of the demonic pact" (Larner 80), and in being the sole authority on the subject, reserved for himself the power—and the divine duty—to expose and prosecute witchcraft as an anti-Christian and anti-monarchical force.

Authoring the work reserved for him other powers not available to his subjects. Buchanan had taught the young James that much of his authority derived from his being "the common father of the state" whose life "must be the pattern of every citizen" (P. Brown 254). Believing himself to have had first-hand experience of witchcraft as a

survivor of the Satanic predations of the "North Berwick Witches," James wrote the *Daemonologie* out of a genuine concern for the welfare of his subjects. Just as with his 1604 *Counterblaste to Tobacco*, he makes an effort to warn his subjects of a danger to their physical and even psychological well-being. His attempt to protect them from what he perceives as the very real danger posed by witches in Scotland, while a commendable and responsible gesture on the part of a political and religious leader, is nonetheless more empowering than altruistic. By taking it upon himself to educate his subjects about witchcraft, James reinforces a number of subtly authoritative monarchical roles which Buchanan had instilled in him and which he had reserved for himself in the previous decade. For one thing, his existence as a role model—an imitable but not duplicable paragon of near-divinity in the face of evil—places him within sight but beyond the reach of his subjects, the traditional physical and hierarchical position of the monarch. In addition, James's ability as author to create and shape public opinion through his words further consolidates one of his other functions as monarch: acting as an agent of cultural formation from the top down. If knowledge is indeed power, his method of forming culture—teaching his subjects by the written word—further empowers him over his subjects in both Kirk and State by making him an educated authority, a controller of information and its dissemination to others. Finally, the fatherly advice which James offers in the work confirms his position as *pater patriae*, or father of the nation, with all its implications of control over his family of subjects.

In terms of gender, James's confirmed position as *pater patriae* with his diatribe against witchcraft confirms his place also at the head of a male order in the individual family. In Jacobean society, the male occupied the role of *pater familias*, or father of the family, but the spectre of witchcraft as largely a female practice threatened this order of which the monarch was the primary exemplar. As James portrays it in the *Daemonologie*, witchcraft is antithetical to male authority, and is thus an assertion of a sort of feminine power beyond that traditionally afforded to women in the established

order. Epistemon argues that women are twenty times more likely to become witches than men are, largely because "that sexe is frailer than man is" (43-4). Although this alleged weakness makes them more susceptible to Satan's wiles, the resulting practice of witchcraft, however, gives them more than compensatory powers of mobility far beyond any man's: the abilities to move "either about the earthe or about the Sea swiflie," to pass through closed doors, to leave their immobilised bodies in spirit, and even to remain invisible (38-40). Since witches place themselves "in the handes of the Deville" (6) rather than commit themselves to God, their actions directly contradict the essentially male hierarchy of the established Kirk. In composing the text, James attempts to uphold this subverted patriarchal order of which he is head. By itemising and intellectualising the various aspects of witchcraft, he gives an ostensibly rational order to what was viewed as an irrational and predominantly female practice. And when Epistemon misogynistically justifies the monarch's punishment of suspected witches by death (78), he consolidates James's power as monarch by sanctioning the subjugation of women who are perceived to have positioned themselves outside of the patriarchal and monarchically maintained religious, social, and political order. Condemning witchcraft and thus preserving the traditional family order is important to James, for upholding the power of the *pater familias* entails upholding the divinely sanctioned authority of the *pater patriae*.

James believed that the practice threatened his kingship on a physical level in that it endangered his life, but perhaps more importantly, he viewed it as a theoretical threat as well. Witches—who James believes are primarily female agents of Satan operating outside the conventional social, political, and religious order—represented an overturning of the monarchically governed patriarchal order. Furthermore, the very existence of such witches subscribing to Satan potentially subverted God's authority, and by association, the authority of God's divinely anointed representative on earth, the king. Yet despite these fears, James did not attempt to consolidate his kingship by denying the existence of witches; rather, he "knew well how to turn witchcraft to political purposes by setting it

up as the devilish enemy of God's deputy, the king, and casting himself as its nemesis in writing and in practice" (Kernan 84). Using a political and religious strategy which he had learned from the Melvilles—ministers who viewed witchcraft as a very real threat to the established Kirk in its life-and-death struggle against the Satanic forces of the episcopacy—James portrayed witches as an oppositional force which his subjects must resist and he must punish in order to preserve the divinely ordained monarchical order.

Crucial to preserving this order was the *Daemonologie*, for the text created and reinforced a religious and political image of James as a divinely ordained champion locked in a struggle with the Satanic other: "the picture of himself as the principal target for witches became an integral part of the myth of kingship which James was using to glamorise his personality" (Larner 84). As a published author who exposed witchcraft as a genuine threat and as a monarch who punished those accused of practising it, with the publication of the *Daemonologie* he was in a win-win situation with respect to both Kirk and State. His exposure, condemnation, and punishment of witches strengthened his position as head of the Kirk, and at the same time demonstrated his moral, intellectual and political superiority to his secular subjects in his role as godly guardian of their welfare. Maurice Lindsay dismisses the *Daemonologie* in a few words in his *History of Scottish Literature* as "a sorry reflection on the superstitions of times which felt the persecution of old women as witches to be a laudable and godly pursuit" (127). While the work is indeed a relic of an intolerant and misogynistic period in human history, it is much more than this; by portraying the punishment of witchcraft as a question of monarchical authority, it represents a time when James drew on his textual education in order to take preliminary steps toward determining, stabilising, and authorising both his theory and practice of divine-right rule in Scotland. And by foreshadowing his 1604 Witchcraft Act, the *Daemonologie* demonstrates that the textual means by which James created a personal and political image and thus established his monarchical authority

upon his accession to the English throne were often extrapolations of those that he had used during his Scottish "apprenticeship."

By further "break[ing] silence" (James VI and I, *Trew Law* 63) with his 1598 publication of *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, James took a more wide-ranging step toward textually stabilising his Scottish authority. Rather than addressing himself to a single obscure element of kingship such as the exposure of witchcraft in the *Daemonologie*, in the more theoretical *Trew Law* he examines numerous aspects of divine-right monarchical authority. He had developed these dicta in dialogue with Buchanan and the Melvilles over the previous two decades. As intertexts, Buchanan, the Melvilles, and the Presbyterian ministers have a more subtle influence upon *The Trew Law* than Scot and the suspected witches do upon the *Daemonologie*. In his brief "Advertisement to the Reader" which prefaces the work, James states that he wastes no time in "refuting the adversaries" of his polity, but concedes that the careful reader "shall find most of their great gunnes payed home againe, either with contrary conclusions, or tacite obiections, suppose in a daigned forme, and indirectly" (*Trew Law* 62). This is certainly the case in the body of the text, where James does not simply affirm the divine nature of monarchy through the implications of his authorship, but also articulates it indirectly by, sometimes espousing and at other times repudiating the ideas of his unnamed dialogical opposition. Whether entertaining the possibility that monarch and subject have mutual responsibilities toward each other, contesting the idea of the origin of Scottish kingship, or outlining the monarch's powers over both Kirk and State, throughout the work James engages constantly with his constructive critics as he develops a theoretical basis for his conception of divine-right rule. In short, *The Trew Law* is "a justification of James's absolute authority in the face of [his] opposition" from Buchanan, the Melvilles, and the Kirk (Fortier 1268), and thus constitutes a crucial stage in the dialogical and textual development of his specific theory of divine-right kingship.

The work was published anonymously in 1598, but its authorship was hardly a secret. Caroline Bingham argues that the work is characteristic of James because its monarchical content is presented in a regal manner which is moderated with an unmistakably informal tone (*James VI* 142). In addition, James had established a recent authorial precedent with the publication of his *Daemonologie* the year before, so given his recent textual history the possibility of his having been the work's author must have been a distinct one for his audience. Providing more concrete evidence of James's authorship of the text—or at least endorsement of it if he was not in fact the author—was the fact that the work was published by Robert Waldegrave, the King's Printer (Sommerville, Introduction xvii). Since his Scottish audience and later his English one could hardly be unaware that he had sanctioned or even written the text, the attempt at anonymity seems a disingenuous one. Instead of hiding the fact that he had written the work, the pseudo-anonymous publication presents James as a reluctant and modest authority, one willing to give his subjects the benefit of his knowledge, but unwilling to take credit for it or impose his views upon them in an overly prescriptive manner. Yet despite this apparent modesty, James had learned from Buchanan that the authorship of the text made him an *authority*, an expert to be referred to and deferred to in matters of monarchical theory and practice. In the preface to the work, he argues that *The Trew Law* is a reference work, one which his subjects can consult if others encourage or attempt to seduce them to rebel against the monarch. He argues that by reading the text, his subjects "shall herewith bee armed against . . . Sirene songs, laying their particular examples to the square of these grounds" (62). Comparing his subjects to Odysseus is a complimentary gesture, but even more, it demonstrates the textual basis which he sees for monarchical rule; for him, the political and religious worlds are analogous to and dependent upon the literary one, not the other way around. Linda Levy Peck says that with the publication of the work, James as monarch became "a new type: the king as-litterateur" (4), but by authoring the work under a thin veil of anonymity, James became a new type of king in many more ways.

The Trew Law of Free Monarchies made him not just a master of the literary world, but a master of the political one, for as a published expert on whom others were to rely, he became a king who did not just act out political theory, but also determined and defined it in his writings.

From the outset, James defines the monarch's authority in terms of his fatherly responsibility to his subjects. While the theoretical nature of *The Trew Law* makes it "the most vigorously absolutist of James' writings" (Sommerville, Introduction xvii), James initially does not espouse the divine right of kings, but rather the divine duty of kings towards their subjects. Beginning "not with a defense of royal authority but an assertion of royal duty" (Fortier 1269), he emphasises—as Buchanan had taught him—that a monarch is not free to act independently of his subjects, but is bound instead by a fatherly duty towards them. Motivated to write the work out of both his "naturall zeale" for the nation and the "great pitie" he feels for his subjects because of their ignorance of right rule (James VI and I, *Trew Law* 63), James subtly communicates his authority by arguing that he is "a louing Father" to his subjects, who by "his fatherly duty is bound to care for the nourishing, education, and vertuous gouernment of his children." Divinely chosen to be "a naturall Father to all his Lieges" (65), the monarch functions in relation to his subjects as did the father with respect to his children in the popular Renaissance convention—as an authoritative force who must protect his family and in return be obeyed. But ruling in "the stile of *Pater patriae*" (76) entails fulfilling other duties. As Buchanan taught him and as James had expressed in the *Daemonologie*, the monarch must serve as a moral exemplar for his subjects, following the laws of the nation bound only by his good will and "good example-giuing to his subiects" (James VI and I, *Trew Law* 75). Yet the monarch does not enact his fatherly authority by being a static role model alone. As an active teacher whose "intention is to instruct" his subjects, and more specifically "to teache [them] the right-way" of king/subject relations (62), he addresses them directly in works such as *The Trew Law*. As a purveyor of knowledge, he assumes

an empowering role which is bound by a fatherly responsibility to his charges. So patriarchal is the language and tone of *The Trew Law* that Robert Filmer would later use the text as the basis for his *Patriarcha*, a defense of absolutism based on the patriarchal organisation of the State. But as far as James was concerned, portraying his authority as a fatherly one restricted by duty to his subjects was not an attempt to establish a divine-right theory of rule for later political theorists; rather, it was a practical gesture aimed at the immediate audience of his Scottish subjects.

Patriarchal as it is, the authority that James conveys to his subjects in *The Trew Law* is a dialogical one rooted in the humanist spirit of engagement. While a monarch such as Henry VIII would have seen any sort of dialogue with his subjects as a disempowering relinquishment of authority, James believes that he and his subjects share a relationship in which hierarchal difference is moderated by mutual responsibility. In the complete title of the work—*The Trew Law of Free Monarchies; or, The Reciproock and Mvtvall Duetie Betwixt a Free King, and His Naturall Subiects*—he uses a number of terms that demonstrate this belief. Words such as “mvtvall,” “betwixt,” and “reciproock” all convey the idea that there exists a degree of cooperation between monarch and subject, or as he says, a “mutuall duetie, and alleageance betwixt a free and absolute *Monarche*, and his people” (64). The nature of this “mutuall duetie,” however, is divinely determined. A monarch answers directly to God and must therefore avoid His censure by protecting his subjects according to the law; a subject answers to God through the person of the monarch, and must avoid God’s censure by executing the monarch’s laws and commands (83). Despite this divine prescription, the relationship between monarch and subject is to be an open one characterised by some degree of dialogue. While subjects are to obey the monarch, the monarch in turn must listen to their advice so that a “holy and happy emulation may arise betwixt” them. James states that the king must “[think] himselfe onely ordained for [his subjects’] weale” and in return they must “in all [their] actions daily striue together” for the welfare of the kingdom (84). Rather than characterise his

authority as one which rests solely upon his hierarchical and patriarchal separation from his subjects, he defines it more moderately as one which rests upon the sort of intertextual engagement and mutual obligation that Buchanan advocated. Addressing his subjects directly at the outset by inviting "your charitable censures" (62), he demonstrates that his monarchical authority relies on an ongoing, constructive, and cooperative dialogue between him and his subjects.

The dialogue between James and his subjects had a limit, however, since as the full title of *The Trew Law* suggests, James believed monarchs to be "natural" authorities ordained by God. While he might invite "charitable censures" regarding his practice of rule, he did not tolerate them with respect to the theoretical and historical justification of his rule itself. The most prominent oppositional force whose censure he repudiates directly in *The Trew Law* is his former tutor, Buchanan. Although he might follow a number of Buchanan's teachings regarding monarchical conduct—on the importance of being an author, engager, *pater patriae*, and moral exemplar—he vigorously opposed Buchanan's theory that monarchy had its origins in contract between subjects and monarch rather than divine ordination. In his 1582 *Rerum scoticarum historia*, or *History of Scotland*, Buchanan justifies the removal of Mary from the throne by claiming that the Scottish monarchy is an institution which was originally sought out and created by the Scots rather than by any divine force. He argues that around the year A.D. 500, the Scots were a loosely organised nation at war with both the Picts and the Britons. Aware of "the imminent danger with which they were threatened, they immediately applied themselves to procure both foreign auxiliaries, and a foreign prince" to help them defend themselves against their enemies (*History* 1: 156). Two terms in Buchanan's phrasing—"applied" and "procure"—indicate that the Scots actively sought out rather than passively accepted their first king. After his arrival from what is now Ireland, the strongest candidate, Fergus, was "declared king, in a full assembly of the people, and appointed to prepare an army" (157).

Buchanan maintains that the agreement between Fergus and the Scots was only a temporary one, and that the assembly which had taken it upon itself to "appoint" and "declare" Fergus as king also had the power to unseat him. It was only after Fergus joined forces with the Picts to rout the Britons that "the Scots confirmed the kingdom to him and his posterity by an oath" (158), thus extending the contract. Even after this confirmation of authority, Buchanan maintains, the monarchy was still subject to the censure of the subjects over which it ruled but by whom it was granted power in the first place. The descendents of Fergus—James VI included—could thus legally be removed from the throne by the Scottish nation since at their accession they had entered into an earthly contract with their subjects rather than a divine one with God. Such a theory "in which kings were only the instruments of the people's needs" (Kernan 91-2) rather than the instruments of God obviously posed a threat to a monarch who believed that his authority derived from his being God's lieutenant in both Kirk and State; for this reason, in 1584 James launched a preliminary textual attack on Buchanan by condemning the *Historia* in Parliament and ordering the printing of the work to cease.

The Trew Law constitutes a more reasoned response to Buchanan, an empowering textual interpretation in which James refutes those "who thinke themselues able to teach and instruct the ignorants" but have instead "heaped heauy calamities" upon the natural monarchical form of government (63)—a thinly veiled reference to his former tutor. James chooses a biblical example predating the selection of Fergus as Scottish king in order to establish the divine nature of monarchs as God's representatives on earth. He argues that the biblical description of the Israelites' selection of Saul as king demonstrates that kings have assumed power by the grace of God rather than by any earthly body. On the surface, the Scriptures indicate that Saul was chosen as king by humans rather than by God. The book of Samuel states that when the Israelites expressed to Samuel their desire for a king, he warned them that such a ruler would be a powerful force whom God would not help them resist or depose in the event of perceived misrule.

Fully aware of Samuel's warning, the Israelites nonetheless maintained their desire to "have a king over [them]," and Samuel responded by choosing and anointing Saul as the first king of the Israelites (1 Samuel 8:9-20; 1 Samuel 10:1).

James's interpretation of Samuel's role in the proceedings, however, argues for the divine origin of Saul's kingship. James focuses on the fact that the Scriptures say that when Samuel spoke to the Israelites, he "tolde all the wordes of the Lord vnto the people that asked a King of him." He maintains that in warning the Israelites, choosing their king, and outlining monarchical powers, Samuel spoke with the voice of God rather than the voice of a man: the "discourses of *Samuel* were dited by Gods Spirit" since "the whole Scripture is dited by that inspiration, as *Paul* saith." As a result, "the election of [Saul] lay absolutely and immediatly in Gods hand" rather than that of any mortal, and "the erection of this Kingdome and Monarchie among the Iewes, and the law thereof may, and ought to bee a paterne for all Christian and well founded Monarchies, as beeing founded by God himselfe" (James VI and I, *Trew Law* 66-70). Contrary to Buchanan, James views Scotland's monarchy as having origins similar to the Israelites' in that the Scottish people submitted to God in the person of the king when they "willingly fell" under the authority of Fergus and his successors (73). By arguing in *The Trew Law* that monarchy has been the divinely ordained method of government throughout both biblical and Scottish history, James presents himself as the most recent in a long line of monarchs who have historically ruled both with godly rather than human sanction and through their ability to interpret the Scriptures.

While Buchanan minimises the historical power of the monarch by stating that an "assembly" of people representing the Scottish nation selected and legitimised Fergus as king (*History* 1: 157), James further defines his monarchical authority by arguing that the Scottish monarchy actually predated the Scottish nation itself and any lawmaking national assembly such as Parliament. He lays the groundwork for this argument that God and not a nation chooses a king by asserting that prior to Fergus' arrival, the Scots

were not a nation *per se*, but rather a loosely knit group of "very few" people who were "barbarous and scant of ciuilitie." Having "a great number with him, out of *Ireland*," Fergus used friendship, force of numbers, and of course his divine sanction to "ma[k]e himselfe King and Lord, as well of the whole landes, as of the whole inhabitants within the same" (James VI and I, *Trew Law* 73). That is, the nation did not choose its king, but rather, Fergus as a divinely ordained king united an uncivilised and ungoverned people under him and was thus founder of both the Scottish nation and its institutions. After uniting the Scots into a nation, Fergus and later his successors "made and established their lawes from time to time," a fact which verifies that "the kings were the authors and makers of the Lawes, and not the Lawes of the kings." By forming the nation and creating its laws "before any Parliaments were holden" (73), the divinely ordained Scottish monarchs established their primacy over the estates of the realm, and created Parliament to be "nothing else but the head Court of the king and his vassals" (74). Able to make laws independently of monarchically authorised and dependent Parliaments, Fergus' successors—including James—are not bound by laws since "the King is aboue the law, as both the author and giuer of strength thereto" (75). And like a modern Homer—the author of his tribe's tale—James uses the written word to give strength to his view of history, and in so doing, builds a literary foundation for a divine-right monarchy independent of secular influence.

In James's conception, the monarchy has authority not just over the State, but over the Kirk as well. Andrew Melville spoke for the entire Presbyterian ministry at Falkland in 1596 when he told James that the monarch was "nocht a king, nor a lord, nor a heid, bot a member" of the Kirk (J. Melville 370), for the egalitarianism he espoused in this statement encapsulates the Presbyterian ideal that the monarch be governed by the Kirk like any other member. James, on the contrary, believed that his divine ordination as king made him a ruler in God's name of both the secular and ecclesiastical realms. In opposition to "seditious preachers" such as the Melvilles who "stir vp rebellion vnder

cloake of religion" (James VI and I, *Trew Law* 71), James argues that God has given him the right to rule the Kirk in His name. He states that monarchy is a "forme of gouernment, [which] as resembling the Diuinitie, approcheth nearest to perfection" (63). Monarchical authority does not simply resemble the perfection of God's rule, however, in his conception, "Monarchie is the trew paterne of Diuinitie" (64), an extension of divine rule on earth. To justify his claims for a divinely ordained and hereditary monarchy's right to rule over the Kirk, James cites Psalm 82:6, where David says "Ye are gods; and all of you are children of the most High." In another empowering interpretive act in which he gains control over God's word, James explains the passage in opposition to Melville's egalitarian view of Kirk organisation: "Kings are called Gods by the propheticall King Dauid, because they sit vpon GOD his Throne in the earth, and haue the count of their administration to giue vnto him" (James VI and I, *Trew Law* 64). That is, as God's lieutenants on earth, kings are not directly accountable to either their secular or ecclesiastical subjects, but rather are "countable to that great God, who placed him as his lieutenant ouer them" (65). James believes that monarchical authority over the Kirk affirms itself in the coronation oath, which he calls "the clearest, ciuill, and fundamentall Law, whereby the Kings office is properly defined" (65). In taking the oath, James has sworn to "maintaine the Religion presently professed within [his] countrie, according to [his] lawes," and to uphold "all the lowable and good Lawes made by [his] predecessours" (64-5). Such wording in the oath gives the king a great deal of power over the Kirk, for he can maintain it as he sees fit, singlehandedly overturning any ecclesiastical laws and doctrines which he does not see as "lowable and good." Having been "ordained for [his subjects], and they not for him," the monarch answers to God for his ecclesiastical subjects, and in return, they should "[obey] his commands in all things, except directly against God" (65; 72). This final proviso is moot, of course; a divinely ordained monarch acting as God's lieutenant in the Kirk could never operate against God's will, and so in the face of the Presbyterians, *The Trew Law* clearly outlines what

James expects from his ecclesiastical subjects: complete obedience to a divinely ordained monarch.

As "the trew paterne of Diuinitie" (64), James expects the same of his secular subjects. In his interpretation, God creates monarchs to rule as lieutenants on earth, so he believes that God alone has the power to oppose and depose kings. Even a tyrant commands the obedience of his subjects, since a bad king represents God's displeasure with his earthly subjects. James argues that there can be no reason for or benefit from rebelling against an unjust monarch, because since the monarch is ruling according to God's will, only chaos will result. Instead, just as it is the tyrant's duty to act out God's design through his oppression, it is the subjects' duty to obey God and "be content to beare whatsoeuer burthen it shal please [their] King to lay vpon [them]" (70). To support this argument for obedience on the part of the subject, James cites an authority who as a fellow divinely inspired author provides a poetic rendering of God's "trew paterne" for monarchical rule: "As the diuine Poet DV BARTAS sayth, *Better it were to suffer some disorder in the estate, and some spots in the Common wealth, then in pretending to reforme, utterly to ouerthrow the Republicke*" (79). By obeying, or at the most passively resisting even the most tyrannical monarch who nonetheless is a part of the divine poetic plan, subjects will follow God's will. But according to James, this does not mean that a monarch has free rein—or perhaps *free reign*—to abuse them. On the contrary, since monarchs "sit vpon GOD his Throne in the earth" (64) and are accountable to God Himself, they pay a higher price for their indiscretions than their subjects do. Just as "love's thunder-claps light oftner and sorer vpon the high & stately oakes, then on the low and supple willow trees," unjust monarchs answer directly to God, and since "the highest bench is the sliddriest to sit vpon" (83), with their actions they risk a greater fall than any subject. By urging his subjects to love him as a father, obey his commands, and resist him only by praying for his goodness, James attempts to "confirme [them] in the course of honest and obedient Subiects to [their] King in all times comming" (72; 62). In

short, he attempts to confirm his subjects in the divinely ordained poetical and political order which God has revealed through du Bartas, and through kingship itself.

The divinely ordained monarch does not simply ensure that his subjects abide by the law, however; in God's stead he controls the creation and application of law itself. In James's words, "the king is above the law, as both author and giuer of strength thereto" (75), and as a legal *authority* has the unique power to use his own discretion to create laws and even supersede them in the interests of justice. In addition, James finds biblical justification for his conception that the monarch's role as judge extends beyond adjudicating between justice and the law to adjudicating between subjects. In Psalm 101, he finds support for the idea that a king must "minister Iustice and Iudgement to the people," and in 1 Kings Chapter 3, Solomon demonstrates that this duty includes "deciding all controuersies that can arise among them" (James VI and I, *Trew Law* 64). As the moderator of disputes between his subjects, the monarch becomes the mediator that Buchanan recommended, a figure whose authority derives from his ability to remain above party, render impartial decisions, and demonstrate to his subjects how to "keepe the course of righteous Judgement, decerning wisely of euey action" (62). And rather than merely theorise about the authority of the mediator, James provides a practical demonstration of it in the text of *The Trew Law*. In composing the work, James "combine[s] absolutist principles with an emphasis upon the monarch's duty to rule according to law and in the public good" (Sommerville, Introduction xv); that is, he balances reasoned Machiavellian policy and idealistic poetic sensibility. In finding this Aristotelian golden mean between the monarch's rights and responsibilities, he presents his divine-right authority as a "divine-duty" one as well, an approach characteristic of a monarch who believed that much of his authority resided in his ability to function as a mediator between extremes and correctly interpret God's Word.

Thomas McCrie describes *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* as "an unvarnished vindication of arbitrary power in the prince" (2: 72), but in light of some of the more

subtle means by which James defines and asserts his monarchical authority in the text, this description is a bit blunt. Poetically balancing the monarch's rights with his duties, James conceives of and presents what is better termed "a nuanced, moderated absolutism" (Sommerville, Introduction xv), one which contains traces of his longstanding dialogue with his constructive critics, Buchanan and the Melvilles. In defining kingship and its divine origins in intertextual opposition to Buchanan's teachings on contractual monarchy, he repudiates one of the tenets of his early education under Buchanan, yet in espousing the authority inherent in the monarch's position as moral exemplar, father figure, and judge, he relies upon Buchanan's teachings as he delineates the powers of the monarch. In quoting and interpreting the Scriptures to establish the divine origins of monarchical authority over both Kirk and State, James defines his rule in opposition to the Presbyterian Melvilles who used the Scriptures to establish quite the opposite. By focusing on the importance of dialogue from the beginning of the text, however, and by inviting the "charitable censures" of his subjects, he acknowledges the intertextual role which his constructive opposition has played in helping him to determine the nature of his monarchical authority. Linda Levy Peck states that Jenny Wormald "convincingly argu[es] for the importance of the theoretical writings of James I in *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* and *Basilikon Doron*" (Peck 13). But in her eagerness to move forward to James's reign in England, Peck overlooks the fact that James I did not write *The Trew Law* and *Basilikon Doron*; rather, James VI did, not so much to communicate his conception of rule to his future subjects as to define and textually stabilise his authority over his current ones. *The Trew Law*, then, while a book of abstract monarchical theory which after its 1603 republication in England helps to explain how James articulated his authority to his new subjects, is more immediately a text which is firmly grounded in the monarchical dialogue in which James had engaged with his "most loyal Scottish opposition" as he sought to define himself as king of Scotland.

With his 1599 *Basilicon Doron*—a work which could justifiably be titled the “*Third Book of Discipline*” because of its intertextual engagement with the principles Andrew Melville set out in the 1578 *Presbyterian Second Book of Discipline*—James further defined his monarchical authority by building upon the foundation he had created the previous year with the more theoretical *Trew Law*. Not so much concerned with kingship’s origins as with its practice, *Basilicon Doron* “assume[s] the principles of *The Trew Law* without bothering to prove them” (Sommerville, Introduction xix) and thus intertextually works together with *The Trew Law* to provide a balanced justification of divine-right monarchical theory as well as practice. Intending *Basilicon Doron* to be a manual of kingship for his son Henry, James initially had the book published in an extremely limited edition; Robert Waldegrave, the King’s Printer, produced only seven copies, which James presented to a small number of his subjects, including Prince Henry and his tutor as well as the three Catholic Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol (Wormald, “Context” 50-1). Even before its widespread publication in England after 1603, *Basilicon Doron* represented James’s most significant textual attempt “to strengthen the position of the monarchy in Scotland” (Sommerville, Introduction xix). Although its initial Scottish publication was an inauspicious one, the text was a major monarchical step for a king who “turned to writing to clarify his thought, [and] who found writing a release” (Wormald, “Context” 49). More than a “release,” however, the writing of *Basilicon Doron* was a *capture* for James in that it enabled him literally to textualise a number of aspects of monarchical authority which he had been formulating in the past two decades during his constructive political and religious dialogue with the Melvilles. For example, the immediate audience for the work, though limited, was a significant one which included the Catholic earls and the Melvilles. In addition, the literary nature of the work solidified James’s position as master of both the political and artistic realms. The work also expands on the idea which he introduced in *The Trew Law* that divine-right monarchy operates above the level of human law, but at the same time the text further

articulates James's authority as teacher and role model of his subjects according to Buchanan's dictum. And in portraying the monarch as a mediating figure, the work reinforces *The Trew Law*'s assertion that much of the monarch's authority derives from his ability to remain moderate, merciful, and above party. With *Basilicon Doron*, then, James engages intertextually both with his previous work and with his critics as he dialogically defines and defends his monarchical authority on a number of theoretical and practical fronts.

Basilicon Doron looks forward to a future audience—James's heir Prince Henry—but it also addresses James's current problems in asserting his monarchical authority in Scotland. Thomas McCrie argues that Waldegrave published only seven copies for private distribution because James feared that the work would have an unpleasant reception in the Presbyteries similar to that of *The Trew Law* the previous year. In McCrie's opinion, James was waiting until conditions were more favourable for the text's widespread publication, and was in effect hiding the work from a potentially hostile national audience (2: 74-5). James's love of debate, however, disproves McCrie's assertion. By publishing *Basilicon Doron* for such an intimate audience, James treated the text like a coveted poetic manuscript. Knowing that the book had power, he reserved it for distribution to an audience which he felt most required an explanation of his monarchical policy and a demonstration of his authority. Having consolidated political power over his nobles by the late 1590s, a power which he had not enjoyed in the early part of his reign, James felt confident that his son could benefit from a textual presentation of kingly wisdom and experience. In providing this political lesson on monarchical duties and powers to both Prince Henry and his tutor, James ensured that *Basilicon Doron*—or "royal gift"—would be a "gift which kept on giving" by training his son to succeed him as an authoritative yet moderate and responsible divine lieutenant on earth. Moreover, James significantly included the Catholic Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol in his select audience. Although he had reached an uneasy truce with them by the

later 1590s, in the early part of the decade these earls had steadfastly defied his ecclesiastical authority. Perhaps in light of what he perceived as their recent repudiation of the divinely ordained ecclesiastical order, James presented *Basilicon Doron* to each of them to assert a lesson similar to that which he had given his son: that the monarch was the head of both Kirk and State, and was accountable only to God for his actions. While he might argue that the text was not "ordained for the institution of a Prince in general" but was intended for "[his] Sonne in speciall" (James VI and I, *Basilicon Doron* 9-10), the work in fact addressed both his dynastic future and his monarchical present, and he presented it to a limited audience who he felt most needed a lesson in general monarchical authority.

James's most problematic audience for *Basilicon Doron* was the Presbyterian ministry from whom McCrie alleges he attempted to hide the work, but with whom he nonetheless engaged after they gained possession of the text. Jenny Wormald states that when he composed *The Trew Law* and *Basilicon Doron*, "James's major concern, . . . was the Melvillians" ("Context" 47)—the Presbyterian faction led by the Melvilles—and since James wrote his works at least partly in response to their criticisms, it is fitting that *Basilicon Doron* instigated yet another confrontation between him and the Melvilles. James claimed in the preface to the 1603 edition of the work that he had limited the original distribution of the text to seven copies, "the matter thereof being onely fit for a King," but against his "intention and expectation," it was "set foorth to the publike view of the world" (James VI and I, *Basilicon* 4). Despite James's protestation that he intended the text for the private scrutiny of his son, however, it was to his advantage—and perhaps by his design—that this text which outlined his conception of monarchical theory and practice became "subiect to euery mans censure" (4), and especially that of Andrew Melville. One of James's scribes, Sir James Semple, provided a manuscript copy to the Presbyterian minister John Dykes, who was an acquaintance of the Melvilles. Dykes, angered by James's claim that "paritie among ministers cannot agree with a Monarchie,"

in turn distributed copies of the manuscript to a number of ministers, including the Melvilles. Andrew Melville drafted a list of objections to the text, and in September 1599 the ministers presented it to the Synod of Fife, whose response—one which echoes James's initial response to the *Second Book of Discipline*—was to order a close reading and discussion of the text at the next scheduled General Assembly in November (Spottiswoode 447; Calderwood 428).

James's response to the Presbyterian criticism of the work was immediate, and characteristically, combined severity with moderation. Hoping to resolve any problems before the next Assembly, James called a conference at Holyroodhouse on 17 November 1599 to which he invited a balanced assortment of "all sortes of the ministerie, zealus and fyrie, modest and grave, wys and indifferent, wherin maters might be quyetlie and gravlie reasonit" (J. Melville 446). Despite the fact that in 1597 James had theoretically "cutt off Mr Andro Melvin" from participating in the proceedings by decreeing that Doctors of Divinity who did not minister to a particular flock could not hold positions in Presbyteries or adjudicate on Kirk discipline (530), in the spirit of mediation he allowed Melville to attend, presumably to represent the "zealus and fyrie" faction of Presbyterian ministers. Melville, true to form, prevented things from being "quyetlie and gravlie reasonit" by disputing the name and office of the episcopacy as outlined in *Basilicon Doron*. Citing 1 Peter 4:15, he argued that the name "bishop" should be used only if the episcopacy would not "think scham to be merschallit with sic as Piter speakes of ther, viz., murderers, theiffs, and malefactors" (J. Melville 459). Melville claimed to have made the comment "as a knack" or cleverly designed strategy (Calderwood 433). If his plan was to anger the king, it worked admirably, for the implication of his statement—that James was profaning rather than following God's Word in *Basilicon Doron*—"was takin in verie evill part by the King" (J. Melville 461). Unable to silence the ministers' objections to the work, and particularly Melville's "fyrie" dissidence which overshot the

mark, James decided to postpone discussion of the text and its advocacy of the episcopacy until the next Assembly, which was delayed until March 1600.

Things were more to James's liking at this Montrose Assembly. After apparently influencing the selection of the moderator in order to install one which he "was sure of" (469), "the King obtained his grand purpose" of solidifying his authority over the Kirk (Rowe et al 2: 454). Although the Assembly acknowledged Melville's eighteen objections to *Basilicon Doron*, it did so without Melville being present, as James had barred him from attending the Assembly (J. Melville 469). In addition, while it agreed to take Melville's objections into consideration, the Assembly agreed to sanction a form of episcopacy whereby certain ministers—chosen by the king and called "commissioners"—were given a vote in Parliament (Cunningham 1: 452-3). Through defending his religious and political policy as presented in *Basilicon Doron*, then, James was able to strengthen his authority over the episcopacy and the Kirk, and so it is debatable whether the leaking of the text to Melville was accidental or deliberate. As a proven controller of words and texts, James was certainly capable of initiating constructive dialogue with Melville by providing him with a copy of the work for discussion. This unofficial presentation of the text to Melville proved advantageous for James since the discussion of the work in the General Assembly defined and strengthened James's political authority over the Kirk. Late in his life, exiled in Sedan, Melville frequently lamented the text's ability to empower the king, for according to McCrie, "as often as he took up the *Basilicon Doron* (which he frequently did) he could not refrain from tears" when he read of the monarchical authority over the Kirk which it both advocated and had helped to implement (2: 318).

The stated purpose of *Basilicon Doron*—to act as an instructional manual on kingship for James's son Prince Henry—implied a monarchical mastery of both Kirk and State which might very well have reduced Melville to tears. As staunch Presbyterians, the Melvilles advocated an egalitarianism in the Kirk in which the monarch participated, but

did not command. In their conception, the monarch should not determine and enforce Kirk doctrine, but rather remain subject to the dictates of the General Assembly, receiving instruction from that body on ecclesiastical matters. Believing himself to be a divinely ordained ecclesiastical ruler, however, James considered the monarch's position with respect to the Kirk to be just the opposite: through the episcopacy, he should control the discipline and its enforcement, thereby instructing the ministers rather than being instructed by them. His purpose in *Basilicon Doron* being to show his son how "to gouverne a Christian people" in both secular and ecclesiastical matters, James takes it upon himself to instruct his son in the proper relationship between monarch and Kirk: God does not create a king to be a secular ruler only, but also to be "a little GOD to sit on his Throne" on earth in ecclesiastical matters (12). By instructing his son in such matters, James opposes on two levels the Presbyterian view that monarchs should receive ecclesiastical instruction from ministers. For one thing, he argues that monarchs are not subject to the General Assembly, but are divinely ordained to rule in God's stead over His religious subjects. On a more basic level, through the very act of instructing his son on the relations between Kirk and State, he acts out his supremacy over the Kirk by bequeathing a "royal gift" to his son and supplanting the Kirk as the future monarch's ecclesiastical instructor. James's act of providing the future king with a religious instructional manual in the form of *Basilicon Doron*, then, was to Melville an intolerable display of the monarch's authority over the Kirk.

The act of providing Prince Henry with a manual outlining the monarch's secular authority would have equally enraged George Buchanan, had he still been alive in 1599. In writing a monarchical instruction manual for his son, James defines a monarch's secular authority in opposition to Buchanan by taking the creation of the monarch completely out of secular hands. As an advocate of divinely ordained monarchy, James believes that God rather than any secular figure initially creates a king, and he opposes Buchanan's idea that secular education continues this creation of a monarch. That is, he

considers monarchical education not as a necessary element by which secular forces create and shape their king, but rather a useful adornment and improvement for God's chosen ruler. He tells Prince Henry directly that "in this Booke your lesson will ye leare" (1). Despite his lack of parental instruction as a child, James reserves for the existing and divinely ordained monarch the responsibility of supervising the education of an heir. He continues this argument in the prose dedication to his son: "I the authour thereof, as your naturall Father, must be carefull for your godly and vertuous education, as my eldest Sonne, and the first fruits of Gods blessing towards mee in my posteritie" (2). While God has created Prince Henry as James's heir, according to God's will it falls upon James as father and divinely ordained monarch rather than upon any other person to "prouide for [Henry's] trayning vp in all the points of a Kings Office" (2). Only through absorbing James's manual of rule, then, will Henry become a "perfite King" (1). As the divinely ordained monarch's heir, Henry will eventually rule over rather than be subject to both Kirk and State, for he owes his creation, education and authority not to any secular or ecclesiastical figure like Buchanan or Melville, but rather to his father, God's representative on earth.

And yet the text of *Basilicon Doron* itself articulates a tenet which Buchanan instilled in the young James through his readings as a child: the philosopher-king is a political authority only to the extent that he is a literary or textual one as well. That is, statecraft relies heavily on wordcraft, as one's mastery of the political realm is an extension of one's mastery of the literary one. In this light, *Basilicon Doron*'s consciously literary rather than simply political nature reflects James's ability to raise politics to an art form. Of course, differing strains of criticism have different ideas of what constitutes a "literary" work, but in the case of *Basilicon Doron*, Thomas McCrie--no admirer of James's--because of his animosity makes the strongest case for the artistic nature of the text: he argues that because the work "is more free from childish and disgusting pedantry than any other of James's writings," its "literary merits are not contemptible" (2: 79).

More: its literary merits are considerable and immediately apparent. James begins the work with a pair of sonnets—one a dedication to Prince Henry and the other an outline of the argument—in order to give it a heightened literary grounding from the start. He ends the text on a poetic note as well, quoting a section from Virgil's *Aeneid* to solidify the reader's impression that the text is as literary as it is political. This poetic structure that frames the prose text reinforces the idea that politics and literature are closely conjoined. By couching the overtly political prose section of the text between the sonnet opening and Virgil's closing, James articulates what he believes to comprise a monarch's political mastery. Whether theorising in a text, addressing Parliament, or even performing kingly duties for his subjects, a monarch embeds his polity in his artistry to the point that the two are indistinguishable, thus raising politics to an art form of which he is the undisputed master.

James could have presented this view of monarchy in a prose format as he did in *The Trew Law*, but he instead uses the poetic medium to portray statecraft as something overlaid with a divine artistry and authority, making *Basilicon Doron* represent an artistic expansion of authority. By embedding a particular political idea—the monarch as divinely sanctioned ordering authority—within the literary media of the opening and closing poems of *Basilicon Doron*, James literalises the conjunction of art and politics. Merging poetry and politics, he matches form with function and uses the implications of the poetic medium subtly to reinforce his overt declarations of divine-right monarchy. The opening and closing poems condense the entire text by maintaining that the monarch's divinely ordained power allows him to command his subjects and enforce the divine order. Despite the respect he had developed for prose writings since his youth, however, James deliberately uses poetry rather than prose to present this basic argument because he holds poetry in higher esteem, believing it to be a divinely inspired pursuit. Convinced that "From sacred throne in heauen Empyrick hie / A breathe diuine in Poets brest does blowe" (James VI and I, "Wyndes" lines 1-2), he believed the practice of

writing poetry to be one sanctioned by God and bestowed only upon a chosen and masterful few including Virgil, and even himself. It is fitting that James argues for the divine nature of kingship in a medium which he believes to be like kingship itself—divinely inspired and practicable only by those who have God's sanction. Just as poetry is an art mastered by only a divinely inspired few, kingship is an art mastered only by the divinely ordained philosopher-king, who like Virgil can see that the king's arts must include imposing laws and commanding obedience (James VI and I, *Basilicon Doron* 61). In general, then, *Basilicon Doron's* poetic frame literalises the idea that like poetry, politics is a practice couched in artistry, and one in which artistic presentation is the path to monarchical authority. Basically, the text is kingship in writing.

The fact that the work's poetic beginning takes the form of sonnets has more specific monarchical implications of order and mastery. The sonnet—particularly the Renaissance sonnet—is a rigid poetic form which demands obedience of the poet. While working within the constraints of fourteen lines, the poet must nonetheless maintain standards of rhythm, rhyme, and conventionally, even subject matter. In James's sonnet introducing the themes of order, law, and obedience upon which the rest of the book relies, content and form meet to reinforce each other; James's obedience of the poetic "laws" of sonnet form mirrors the monarch's obedience of God's law and the subject's obedience of monarchical law which the poem's content advocates. Paradoxically, however, within a subject's unquestioning obedience lies a type of freedom. In his somewhat unconventional "Holy Sonnet XIV," for example, John Donne diminishes the constraints of both the sonnet and religious devotion by arguing that subservience to God brings with it a freedom from responsibility: "Take me to you, imprison me, for I / Except you enthrall me, never shall be free (lines 12-13). Likewise, James argues in *The Trew Law* that there is a great deal of freedom for a subject within the monarchical order since the monarch's direct accountability to God spares the subject serious divine punishment (83). In the sonnets which open *Basilicon Doron*, James continues this argument. In rhyme,

rhythm, length, and subject matter, James models the flexibility and freedom afforded to the master poet within the restrictions of the sonnet form. He thus provides a literal model for the subject, who himself can find room to move within a rigid and divinely determined monarchical order. Through their textual position as frames, their authoritative content, and their rigid but nonetheless liberating medium, the poems in which James couches the bulk of *Basilicon Doron* define and reinforce his divinely ordained monarchical authority. By focusing on the divine order of things, the content overtly defines monarchical power, and by literalising the idea that politics requires an artistic or literary presentation, the poetic medium illustrates that kingship is an art form of which James is a divinely inspired textual master.

Just as the overall purpose and medium of the text imply that the monarch has the authority to determine and control the art of kingship, *Basilicon Doron*'s content articulates a number of themes and ideologies which both engaged with and angered Andrew Melville. The first of these ideologies—one which intertextually builds upon the monarchical theory James espoused the year before in *The Trew Law*—is the idea of divine-right monarchy. Early in the text, James reiterates one of *The Trew Law*'s primary theoretical premises: that the monarch is a divinely ordained ruler directly responsible to none but God. In the sonnet outlining the text's argument, for example, James states that the monarch is a "heauenly King" who has "the stile of Gods" and wields God's sceptre on His earthly throne ("Argvment" line 1). He continues by saying that since the monarch resembles the "mightie King Diuine" and has godly sanction, he is God's "Lieutenant here" on earth (line 14; line 8). Later in *Basilicon Doron*, James reminds his son (and any other reader) that a monarch has a bipartite identity composed of both earthly and divine elements. Although he tells Henry directly that God "made you a man," he states that at the same time, He "made you a little GOD to sit on his Throne, and rule ouer other men" (12). Firmly opposed to Buchanan's conception of monarchy as an institution founded upon a contract between king and people, James argues that the

monarch occupies a middle or hybrid position in the divine order, ruling humans in the capacity of earthly king, but doing so with a godly sanction and mandate which imparts to him some degree of divinity. As an intermediary between God and men, the monarch rules over God's subjects on earth, but is responsible for his actions only to God; he is "ordained for his people, hauing receiued from God a burthen of gouernment, whereof he must be countable" (20).

Much to Melville's chagrin, in the text James states that his divinely ordained authority extends over not just secular subjects, but also the Kirk. Believing himself to be responsible *for* rather than *to* the Kirk, he urges his son to exercise a similar authority to that which he himself has exerted over the Kirk's preachers. James believes that if ministers instigate "a popular tumult and rebellion" by preaching sermons and instituting doctrine and reform "not proceeding from the Prince's order," to maintain God's order on earth and in the Kirk a monarch must "rule, as may iustly stop their mouthes from all . . . idle and vnreuerent speeches" (25; 31). James tells Henry that to maintain this order, a monarch must "suffer no conuentions nor meetings among Church-men, but by [his] knowledge and permission" (45); that is, in defiance of the Melvilles' belief that the monarch should be subject to the edicts of the General Assembly of ministers, James reserves for the monarch the ecclesiastical authority he had solidified for himself with the 1592 "Golden Acts"—the power to control the date and location of the Assembly's meetings.

James believes that when "fierie spirited men in the ministerie" ignore this royal authority over the General Assembly, they "begouth to fantasie to themselues a Democraticke forme of gouernment" which relies on neither God nor king (26). To preserve his authority, the monarch must "banish their conceited paritie" which "can neither stand with the order of the Church, nor the peace of a Commonweale and well ruled Monarchie" (27). James advises Henry directly that should these "fierie" ministers insist on "exceeding the bounds of their calling" by denying the monarch's authority over

the Kirk and Assembly and by providing him with unsolicited religious counsel, he has only one option: "according to your office, grauely and with authoritie redact them in order again" (19). In his ongoing theoretical dialogue with the Melvilles, James had argued that to "redact" this order and assert royal authority over the Kirk, the monarch must destroy the Presbyterian egalitarianism within the Kirk by upholding the episcopacy as his ruling body over the ministers; in *Basilicon Doron*, he stabilises his episcopal policy by urging his son to "entertaine and aduance the godly, learned and modest men of the ministerie . . . to Bishoprickes and Benefices" (27). In a more blunt manner, he gives his son practical advice which builds upon the ecclesiastical theory he has espoused in *The Trew Law*: "cherish no man more then a good Pastor, hate no man more then a proude Puritane" (*Basilicon Doron* 27). After having outlined his dialogically formed ecclesiastical policy in the theoretical *Trew Law*, James takes the next step towards determining the nature of his Kirk rule in the pragmatic *Basilicon Doron*. Presenting the monarch not just as an institution beyond the pale of both the criticism and the authority of the Kirk, but also as one which actually controls the Kirk's utterances and overall doctrine, he textually defines the monarch's ecclesiastical authority in a manner which enraged Andrew Melville by virtually ending their longstanding and flexible ecclesiastical dialogue.

James's missives to his son regarding the monarch's role with respect to his secular subjects further define and stabilise the monarchical theory that he first began to explore textually in the *Daemonologie* and *The Trew Law*. A major theme running through *Basilicon Doron* is that the monarch must fulfill a number of duties toward his subject—duties which by their very existence confirm his royal authority. In the address to Prince Henry at the beginning of the text, James tells his son "that being borne to be a king, ye are rather borne to *onus*, then *honos*" (2). Near the end, he comes back to this idea by saying that Henry must remember "the greatnesse and weight of [his] burthen" as king (59). This reiterative technique frames the work and permeates it with the

conception that the monarch has responsibilities to his secular subjects. Building upon the foundation he has laid with the *Daemonologie* and *The Trew Law*, James articulates to his son and the rest of his select audience that the monarch's duties as father, role model, and teacher to the nation-at-large empower him by making him the sole figure responsible for his subjects' welfare. In helping to preserve this welfare, *Basilicon Doron* is a monarch's duty and responsibility—quite literally, James's written work.

As in *The Trew Law* and as per Buchanan's teachings, James places a great deal of emphasis on his role as father figure to the nation. After stating that he has a familial "fatherly authoritie" over his heir (*Basilicon Doron* 3), James likens this authority to his dynastic one by providing advice to the future king regarding his exercise of kingship. "According to [his] fatherly authoritie," he charges his son to be careful in choosing servants, urging him to choose at least some who have served his father faithfully (35). The very act of helping to determine his son's court under the guise of providing fatherly advice and ensuring governmental continuity enacts James's own monarchical authority over his successor by demonstrating how that authority will persist even after his death. In addition, he tells Prince Henry that a monarch has a responsibility for the welfare of his subjects, for "as their naturall father and kindly Master" he must be concerned with "the making and execution of good Lawes" to ensure their prosperity (20). By calling the king the "father" and "Master" of his subjects, however, he implies that the making of laws ensures more than just a subject's welfare; the monarch's laws—like a father's domestic ones in the Renaissance conception of family—ensure also a subject's obedience. With respect to the court, James tells his son to "let them know no father but you" (36) so that they must rely on the monarch for both discipline and favour. He advocates a further control over the court by telling his son to use his fatherly authority to enforce courtly behaviour and "make your Court and companie to bee a patterne of godlinesse and all honest vertues" for the rest of the nation (35). James says that he would "rather not bee a Father, and childlesse, then bee a Father of wicked children" in

either the domestic or courtly sphere (3), and he believes that as both a disciplining fatherly influence and as "a lampe and mirroure to [his] company" (42), the monarch can render his most powerful subjects obedient "children."

He further argues that as a "lampe and mirroure," the monarch should function as an authoritative role model for the rest of his subjects. Since monarchs are under constant scrutiny by virtue of their being "publike persons" who perform "vpon a publike stage, in the sight of all the people" (4), he feels that they must lead "by good example" to ensure their subjects' prosperity, welfare, and obedience. He believes that as a moral exemplar beyond reproach, a monarch should "let [his] owne life be a law-booke and a mirroure to [his] people" so that "they may see, by [his] image, what life they should leade" (34). Taking up his argument from *The Trew Law* that "the highest bench is the sliddriest to sit vpon" (*Trew Law* 83), James states that the divinely ordained privilege of rule—of functioning as a "law-booke"—places upon a monarch the highest degree of responsibility. He says that what is a minor sin on the part of a subject would be a "great crime" on the part of the monarch, since a king has a duty to follow God more closely and praise and honour Him more highly than any subject. Should a monarch commit a sin, it would be "an exemplare sinne, and therefore [draw] with it the whole multitude to be guilty of the same" (*Basilicon Doron* 12) since the monarch functions as a public moral example to his subjects. James considers the monarch's role as moral exemplar to be a divinely ordained one, since the "glistening worldly glorie of Kings, is giuen them by God, to teach them to preasse so to glister and shine before their people" and "giue light to all their [subjects'] steps" (13). He tells Henry directly that the king's role is "to teach your people by your example: for people are naturally inclined to counterfaite (like apes) their Princes maners" (20). By describing subjects in terms of possession, by likening them to "apes," and by arguing for their "natural" tendency to obey the monarch, James models and articulates his monarchical authority. His duty to "leade and allure [his subjects] to the loue of vertue, and hatred of vice" through his image, speech, and works

(49) suggests more than a moral responsibility alone. It is one which reflects his divinely ordained monarchical authority to rule over both his secular and ecclesiastical inferiors.

The monarch, however, does not derive authority only through teaching morality to his subjects. In both the *Daemonologie* and *The Trew Law*, James implies by the very nature of his instructional undertaking that the monarch is an academic authority over his subjects, a figure whose secular and ecclesiastical superiority is supplemented by an intellectual one. In these texts, James articulates that he is no longer a minority king under the instruction of subjects such as Buchanan and Young, but is rather a "free monarch" who now has the political and religious knowledge to enlighten his subjects regarding both the dangers of witchcraft and the theoretical underpinnings of divine-right monarchy. The very act of instructing his subjects through these texts reinforces the religious and political relationship between monarch and subject by hierarchically placing James in the position of authoritative and protective teacher, and the subject in the role of subservient and vulnerable student. That is, in James's opinion, kingly authority consists to a large degree in the monarch's role as teacher, a role which paradoxically he learned from subjects such as Buchanan and the Melvilles, but which nonetheless inspires his textual art of kingship.

James builds upon this textually reinforced relationship between teacher and pupil in *Basilicon Doron* by providing a political and religious education for an audience of subjects he views as wayward students in need of instruction from God's lieutenant. But given the primary audience for the text, James does more than demonstrate his ability to educate his subjects. By dedicating the instructional text to Prince Henry and stating that the young prince will learn to be a "perfite King" if he studies it diligently, James takes it upon himself to ensure his heir's "godly and vertuous education" (1; 2). Through the act of writing an instructional manual on kingship which he feels can develop his son into a "perfite" monarch, James transcends his earlier educational role as instructor of his subjects which he has defined in the *Daemonologie* and *The Trew Law*. Since *Basilicon*

Doron's ostensible purpose is to provide for the monarchical education of his son, as the writer of the work he presents himself as the highest possible educational and political authority: a king whose knowledge is so extensive that he is in turn a teacher of future kings. Despite the apparent success of his early education at the hands of Buchanan, James could not reconcile himself to the idea that he had been a constructed rather than a born king, instead believing that Buchanan's teachings had merely enhanced (or in some cases detracted from) what God had already ordained. By addressing his son directly in the second person throughout *Basilicon Doron* as he instructs him on all aspects of kingship—from political and religious theory all the way to “food, sleeping, raiment, speaking, writing, and gesture” (50)—James places the educational authority formerly wielded by Buchanan firmly in monarchical hands. In short, if knowledge is indeed power, then the text implies that James is both an intellectual and political authority. With *Basilicon Doron*, he expands upon the idea of the monarch as teacher, and in so doing, expands the intellectual and thus political gulf which separates kings from subjects. In his conception, divinely ordained kings and their heirs require a specialised education beyond anything which a subject might impart; by presenting himself in the text as the only figure capable of providing this education—as a king who himself instructs kings—James reserves for himself an authoritative position in the pedagogical order which reinforces that which he occupies in the political one.

In *Basilicon Doron* James contradicts not just Buchanan's idea of the monarch's subservience to his secular teachers, but also his conception of the monarch's subservience to Parliament. In *The Trew Law* James demonstrates that the monarch is not bound by Parliament and its laws as Buchanan argues since kings existed in Scotland “before any Parliaments were holden, or lawes made” (73), and in *Basilicon Doron* he draws out the practical ramifications of this historical view. Telling his son that the monarch has authority over the lawmaking body of Parliament since laws do not create kings, but rather kings create laws, he positions the monarchy firmly above the

jurisdiction of Parliamentary law. Echoing *The Trew Law*, he refers to Parliament as "the King's head Court," and tells Henry directly that creating laws is ultimately a monarchical rather than a Parliamentary duty: "I remit the making of them to your owne discretion, as ye shall finde the necessitie of new-rising corruptions to require them." In his conception, Parliament does not operate independently of the monarch, but is actually the monarch's instrument for lawmaking, and is subject to monarchical control regarding its agenda and time of meeting. As such, Parliament should meet at the monarch's behest, and only "for necessitie of new Lawes, which would be but seldome" in order to prevent the abuse of the institution by those wishing to subvert the divinely ordained political order (*Basilicon Doron* 21). Basically, James's statement of the monarch's authority with respect to Parliament is an inflexible one directly opposed to Buchanan's equally inflexible conception: the monarch does not rule *with*, but rather *over* the lawmaking Parliamentary body, and is thus a figure beyond the reach of the secular law which applies to Parliament, Buchanan, and the Melvilles.

Yet despite this rigid definition of royal legal authority over Parliament, *Basilicon Doron* defines monarchical authority as a moderate and mediated one—a humanist adherence to the Aristotelian golden mean—rather than something bluntly draconian. Because of his balanced education at the hands of the severe Buchanan and the moderate Young, James maintains an artistic balance in *Basilicon Doron*, a harmony between the extremes of sternness and clemency which marks his authority as one based on mediation. Although Melville viewed *Basilicon Doron* as an extreme statement of divine-right authority over both Kirk and State, the general character of the work remains moderate and firmly based upon the principle of the *via media*. Near the beginning, James says that the text is to be "a iust and impartial counsellour" to his son (3), and being guided by this spirit, it is the work of a monarch whose political manner "was not that of an autocratic king . . . but rather that of a man with a balanced and sensible approach" to rule (J. Brown 27). The ability to remain above party, to subscribe to

neither extreme half of a dichotomy, to temper discipline with mercy—this is the mediated and mediating strategy by which James confidently defines his divine-right authority as he provides his son with advice characterised by its “sound, moderate common sense” (25).

James believes that part of the monarch’s authority rests upon his moderate dealings with both the Kirk and his nobles. Despite arguing for the necessity of an episcopacy to eradicate Presbyterian egalitarianism and enforce the monarch’s divinely sanctioned hierarchical order in the Kirk, and despite urging his son to “hate no man more then a proude Puritane” (*Basilicon Doron* 27), James realises that his authority in religious matters relies upon his ability to stand above party and mediate between disputants. In the text, he fully subscribes to neither the egalitarian minister nor the hierarchical bishop, for he urges his son to be “ware with both the extremities; as well as yee repress the vaine Puritane, so not to suffer proude Papall Bishops” (27). Since a “vain Puritane” “contemne[s] the Law and souereigne authoritie” of the king by espousing egalitarianism in the Kirk, and since a “proude Papall Bishop” admits “Papall supremacie” over the monarch in religious matters (6-7), both extremes pose a threat to James’s ecclesiastical authority. Rather than summarily condemn either or both of them, however, James takes a more tolerant stance, and through his moderation shows his authority to be one based on his ability to rule peacefully over divergent groups. He says that as long as the egalitarian ministers and hierarchical bishops are “not resisting to the authoritie” of the monarch or “sturring any rebellion or schisme” in the Kirk, he “doe[s] equally loue and honour the learned and grave men of either of these opinions” (7)—especially “learned” figures such as the Melvilles. Neither favouring nor condemning either religious extreme, James defines his ecclesiastical authority in terms of the middle way: the monarch is a tolerant, equitable, and unifying mediator in the religious disputes of men, and one who respects principled, learned argument.

He defines the king as a mediating monarchical authority with respect to his nobles as well. As a monarch who had been abducted by the "Ruthven Raiders" and terrorised by the Earl of Bothwell, and who would again be physically threatened by the "Gowrie Conspiracy" the next year, James has good reason to state in *Basilicon Doron* that the Scottish nobles pose a threat to monarchical authority. He argues that when the nobles "bang it out brauely, hee and all his kinne, against him and all his," their infighting undermines the monarch's traditional role as maintainer of the political order. Even more threatening to monarchical authority is the fact that these clannish power struggles often grow to involve the king directly as a combatant rather than merely as an unheeded mediator. Possessing "a fectlesse arrogant conceit of their greatnes and power," he says, many nobles "thinke the King farre in their common"—both indebted to them for any period of peace which they allow, and equal to them in political and military strength. He informs Prince Henry that he must be wary of his nobles, and to prevent insurrection must do as James himself has done: put the nation's weapon and treason laws "sharpelie to execution," punishing all noble offenders as he would mere "brigands and cut-throates" who represent clannish dissidence rather than principled opposition. Yet just as he does with regard to his religious opposition, James argues that moderation is the key to effective royal authority. He tells his son that despite the necessity for strictness in his dealings with the nobility, he must "eschew the other extremitie, in lightlying and contemning" them; that is, he must not rely on strong measures alone to enforce order, but must moderate his strict punishment with leniency and respect. If a monarch keeps in mind that his noblemen are of virtuous and noble blood and treats them with the same "reuerent regard" which their ancestors deserved, they will obey and execute the law simply out of love for him. James assures his son that the best path to follow in relations with the nobility is the middle one, punishing those who disobey the law while at the same time "giuing accesse so open and affable to euery ranke of honest persons," rewarding them with positions at court (28-9). For James, the true power of

the monarch over his nobility lies on the middle road. By moderating disputes, punishing the guilty, rewarding the honest, and making a genuine effort to "temper and mixe [his] seueritie with mildnes" (31), a monarch effects an artistic balance between extremes which renders him an authority who both impartially judges people and controls the meting out (or perhaps *meeting up*) of punishment and mercy.

The monarch must demonstrate his authoritative judicial mediation not just to his nobles, but also to the rest of his subjects. Saying that "it is but the craft of the Diuell that falsly coloureth the two vices that are on either side" of the *via media* (43), James advocates balancing punishment and clemency in all aspects of the execution of the law. At the beginning of his reign a monarch must come down on the side of severity in order to gain initial control over his subjects; the idea is to subjugate the subjects by letting them "know that ye can strike" with strong and divinely sanctioned force (22). The monarch should also actively stop the practice of vigilante justice, for subjects who revenge themselves on each other disempower the king as the executor of justice by "vsurping [his] office, whom-to onely the sword belongeth" (60). After having spent the first five years of his reign ensuring obedience by executing justice with severity, James argues, the monarch should then in "all the daies of [his] life mixe Iustice with Mercie" in order to "win all mens hearts to a louing and willing obedience" (22). That is, he should nourish a relationship with his subjects based upon mercy rather than terror or Machiavellian advantage. By first establishing his authority through harsh means and then balancing that severity with clemency, the monarch will ensure that his subjects both fear and love him, and will thus solidify his position as the executor of all aspects of justice. Upon his arrival in England, James would follow his own advice for establishing this balanced legal authority in a new kingdom. He had a cutpurse who had preyed on his entourage summarily hanged at Newark-upon-Trent on 21 April, 1603 (Gardiner 1: 87); yet by 1616, in a far more serious matter, he would show mercy by commuting Robert Carr and Frances Howard's sentence of execution for the poisoning of Sir Thomas

Overbury to one of imprisonment in the Tower and eventual house arrest at Rotherford Grays (Bingham, *James I* 145). Even so, James believes that there are some taboos to which a monarch cannot turn a blind eye, for he tells his son that besides poisoning there are certain "horrible crimes that yee are bound in conscience neuer to forgiue": crimes against the state such as counterfeiting coinage and practising witchcraft (*Basilicon Doron* 23). His later judicial treatment of these offences would not always follow exactly the letter of *Basilicon Doron*, but in general, the text delineates how James believed that his authority as king rested in large part on his ability to inspire both fear and love in his subjects by balancing punishment with mercy and thus holding their lives in his hands.

James's belief that a monarch must mediate between these two legal extremes has more than just pragmatic implications related to his ability to determine the fate of suspected criminals; it also has theoretical ones regarding his legal authority since he outlines the monarch's power to mediate between the letter and the spirit of the law and thus operate independently of Parliamentary control. James argues in the text that as the creator of law, the monarch is accountable *for* rather *to* it, and therefore has a duty to mediate between rigid and flexible adherence to law. Mark Fortier sums up James's view of the monarch's role in executing justice: "the king's discretion is to be used in such situations where the strict letter of the law creates an obvious injustice" (1271). While Buchanan would argue that the contractual monarch, bound by Parliamentary law, cannot use "discretion" in its execution, James quotes Cicero's dictum that "*summum Ius, is summa iniuria*"—the law taken to extremes is an extreme injustice (*Basilicon Doron* 43). Convinced that justice consists in the monarch's moderated adherence to the law, he tells his son to punish "euery man according to his owne offence" (60), and to "feare no vproares for doing of iustice" even if it does not subscribe to the letter of the law (22). The fact that the monarch has a duty to exercise moderation in the dispensing of justice, however, does not mean that his judgement should be biased. James reminds

Prince Henry that since "the Throne ye sit on is Gods," in his judgement he must "sway neither to the right hand nor to the left; either louing the rich, or pittying the poor. Iustice should be blinde and friendlesse" (24). In his conception, the monarch must "vse Iustice, but with such moderation, as it turne not in Tyrannie," existing in the middle ground "betwixt extreame tyrannie . . . and extreame slackenesse of punishment" (43-4). Believing the monarch to be the custodian of a justice which strikes a balance between the letter and the spirit of the law, James "positions royal prerogative as bound by God to a sense of justice above the strictures of the law, but only to the degree that the law leads to injustice" (Fortier 1271). In short, by its very existence, his belief that the monarch has a divinely sanctioned responsibility to mediate between justice and the law in cases where the two do not coincide defines the monarch's legal authority as existing above any secular or ecclesiastical body such as Parliament or the General Assembly.

The most balanced artistic means that James uses to define his mediated and mediating monarchical authority in *Basilicon Doron* is his reliance upon the idea of intertextual dialogue to guide his policy to the *via media*. In the preface to the 1603 edition of the text, he engages with his secular and religious critics by dismissing their objections to the work in a reasoned manner by which he hopes to have "resolved all the doubts, . . . [which] may be moued against [the] Treatise" (11). By engaging with the sort of "charitable censures" which he has invited in *The Trew Law* (*Trew Law* 62), he presents himself as a moderate monarch able to mediate between opinions in order to strike a balance suitable to all. With respect to waging war, he says in *Basilicon Doron* that the monarch will succeed only if he heeds "the aduice of such are skilfullest in the craft" (33), a statement which sums up his method with respect to other aspects of monarchical policy such as the practice of religion. Claiming that he is neither Presbyterian nor Catholic, he argues that he engages with both groups in an academic dialogue since he "doe[s] equally loue and honour the learned and grave men of either of these opinions" (7). He even goes so far as to say that in matters of religion, if

ecclesiastics "speake vnto [the monarch] any thing that is well warranted by the word, [he must] reuerence and obey them as the heraulds of the most high God" (19). In short, James believes that much of the monarch's authority lies in his role as an impartial but compassionate mediator and peacemaker who is willing to consider the positions of others in both religious and secular disputes.

He argues also that much of monarch's authority derives from his ability to engage intertextually with others as both a reader and writer. Telling Henry that "knowledge and learning is a light burthen" but one which is absolutely essential (44), he recommends that a monarch study a large number of texts in order to apprehend the critical and practical skills required to govern effectively, and singles out a few of these texts for particular attention. First, he says that a monarch must carefully engage with the Bible in order to refine his knowledge and practice of politics, judgement, and of course, religion (45). In particular, he tells his son that to understand the origins, prerogatives, and authority of a divine-right monarch, he must study and reflect upon the books of Deuteronomy and Romans since they comprise "that part of Scripture, where the godly Kings are first made mention of, that were ordained to rule ouer the people of God" (13). With respect to secular works, James encourages Henry to follow the examples of rulers portrayed in "authenticke histories and Chronicles," and recommends in particular Caesar's *Commentaries* as a work whose author and text have much to teach a monarch about the practice of rule (46). In particular, though, James recommends the poetical works of du Bartas even more highly than the Scriptures or the *Commentaries*. Viewing the works of du Bartas—the academic who in 1587 complimented Andrew Melville's learning and loyalty—as providing a literary foundation for monarchical rule, he says that he wishes his son to be especially "well versed in them" since their political philosophy and artistic execution make them "all most worthie to bee read by any Prince" (58). In short, James wishes his successor to be a textually enhanced monarch in the same way he

was—one who engages intertextually with a number of authors and their works as he develops a sense of his political and religious authority.

But James does not wish his son to be simply a reader of texts; in his opinion, a monarch must also engage with texts by creating them and thereby actively initiating a dialogue with his constructive opposition. That is, a monarch developing his theory and practice of rule should not be an audience alone, but also a writer and artist who dialogically subjects his work to the intertextual scrutiny and criticism of others. Through this process in which he articulates, reconsiders, and reforms his polity in light of the criticism of others, the monarch mediates between two related political utterances—the text and the intertextual response—and develops a balanced, textually based definition of his authority. James argues in *Basilicon Doron* that the monarch must plan a war with “the aduice of such are skilfullest in the craft” (33) rather than on his own, and similarly, he tells his son that he must plan his religious and political policies with critical input from others. In James’s opinion, writing is an important political and religious tool for a monarch because it clarifies and stabilises his thought by revealing “true pictures of [his] minde, to all posterities” (55). Yet he believes that a monarch’s writings are not merely static statements of policy for posterity; rather, they are also dialogical and dynamic offerings for his contemporary critics. He tells Henry that he must have his written works “censured by some of the best skilled men in that craft” (55), just as he himself has had his textually informed and articulated statements of policy censured by skilled constructive critics such as the Melvilles and even du Bartas. By engaging with these critics in the *Daemonologie*, *The Trew Law*, and *Basilicon Doron*, James provides for his son a concrete example of how a mediating monarch can textually (or more accurately, intertextually) develop, define, refine, and stabilise his conception of royal authority in a written work by striking an artistic balance between opposing political and religious views.

Overall, the 1599 *Basilicon Doron* represents James's most complete statement of the nature and extent of royal authority, and its various means of textually advocating divine-right monarchy stabilised the conceptions of rule which he had been developing over the past two decades in an ongoing dialogue with his critics. The work's ostensible purpose—to prepare his heir for kingship by developing the monarchical authority with which God has imbued him—directly confronts Buchanan's claims that the Scottish monarchy is a contractual one, and in doing so, the text espouses a theory of divine-right rule which defines James's conception of his secular authority. The text's medium—a political treatise framed by poetry—further defines James's royal authority by literalising the idea that James is a master of the political art just as he is a master of the literary one. In its content, the work expands upon a number of theoretical points established in *The Trew Law* regarding the monarch's role in relation to his secular and ecclesiastical subjects: James's existence as teacher of his subjects, and even of future kings, is a statement of his authority over his subjects; his role as father to the nation underlines this intellectual and disciplinary power; and the fact that he provides a moral example for his subjects to follow further demonstrates their weakness and presupposes their receptiveness in the face of his moral superiority. *Basilicon Doron* expands on *The Trew Law* also by portraying James as the purveyor of justice to his subjects; as the maker of laws through his subordinate institution of Parliament, he controls the law itself and can operate independently of it in order to ensure that justice incorporates the spirit of the law rather than simply the letter of it. By portraying him as a figure who mediates between the extremes of punishment and forgiveness in matters of ecclesiastical and secular discipline, the text defines his authority as one which follows the *via media* by artistically balancing severity and moderation. And perhaps most importantly, within the text James outlines the intertextual basis for his authority: as a critical reader of texts and as an author of texts which in turn engender constructive criticism from others, he defines his kingship *via* the printed word.

Because *Basilicon Doron* is such a complete statement of James's monarchical authority, because in writing the work he looked ahead to his son's succession, and because he published the text to an eager audience in England upon his English accession in 1603, one is tempted to view the work as one which he wrote with an eye to establishing his monarchical precepts in England. To some extent the work was aimed at his future English subjects, for it acted as "a guide to their new king" (Wormald, "Context" 52), showing them what to expect regarding his political theory and practice. Yet first and foremost, *Basilicon Doron* "should always be read with the Scottish setting of its composition in the reader's mind" (Bingham, *James VI* 150)—a context which included unruly nobles, unsettled relations between monarch and Kirk, and a longstanding textual engagement with a variety of authors and critics. While the text may have served James later as a means of easing into his English rule, it was initially a means of intertextually engaging with constructive critics such as the Melvilles and the late Buchanan in order to define for himself—and for his secular and ecclesiastical audiences—his divine-right monarchical authority in Scotland.

Jenny Wormald refers to James's practice of writing in Scotland as an "unusual leisure pursuit" (Context" 38), and while it was unusual for a monarch to publish such a variety of work, James saw nothing at all "leisurely" about the act of writing. In his opinion, writing was not an ornament to kingship, but rather the essence of it, necessary work that developed and communicated his monarchical theory through a cultural dialogue with constructive critics such as the Melvilles. This intertextual dialogue allowed him to refine and rearticulate his view of divine-right monarchy in writing, which he viewed as "a forme of en-registrate speech" which solidified, stabilised, and registered his polity in light of a beneficial and necessary opposition (*Basilicon Doron* 54). After engaging with the Melvilles on the subject of the monarch's secular and ecclesiastical authority through the "Black Acts" and a number of personal debates, he "laid down a view of kingship" (Wormald, "Context" 48)—an intertextually determined

view of kingship—through his own texts which defined the monarch's authority by taking into account the opinions of others. With the *Daemonologie*, he sought to establish the monarch as a fatherly and authoritative force whom God has chosen for the welfare of His subjects on earth. Expanding upon the monarch's divinely ordained power to rule, in *The Trew Law* he outlines a more complete theory of divine-right kingship which takes into account facets of kingship other than the monarch's duty to combat the practice of witchcraft. And in *Basilicon Doron*, he builds upon the theories introduced in *The Trew Law* by delineating both the monarch's theoretical powers and the practical application of them. Wormald speaks of "the subtlety and skill with which James restored royal authority in the state, and gained ascendancy over the extremists in the church" after he assumed majority rule (Wormald, "Context" 43), but does not elaborate on the skilful means by which he achieved this ascendancy. One cannot overstate, however, the role of intertextual dialogue—a dialogue which culminated in *Basilicon Doron*'s overarching declaration of divine-right monarchy—in helping him to envision and demonstrate his authority over both Kirk and State.

Wormald says that "not only was it highly unusual for a king to write books . . . it was remarkable in the extreme for a Scottish king to do so" ("Context" 38). Because royal authorship is so rare, she argues, "the writings of a king have a peculiar, indeed a unique importance" (36). This artistic significance is especially true of James's writings. Rather than try to create a political reality by carrying a predetermined political ideology in the conventional propagandist manner, his works instead seek to create a divine-right political reality on a more fundamental level by actually striving to develop that ideology in the first place. Jennifer Brown characterises James as a monarch who "understood and acted on a policy of co-operation and practical common sense" (38), and one can certainly see this spirit of co-operation or dialogue in his composition and presentation of texts such as the *Daemonologie*, *The Trew Law*, and *Basilicon Doron*. As the products of his longstanding political and religious dialogue with Catholics and Presbyterians alike,

these texts helped him to develop, refine, and articulate his monarchical authority in Scotland, and in so doing demonstrate that much of his political power consisted in his ability to control the word. Although he makes the general argument that James's authority exists in all aspects of Jacobean cultural production, Jonathan Goldberg focuses his argument somewhat by saying that with respect to James, it is no mere coincidence that "the root of *authority* is *author*" (18). Believing implications and ideologies of power and control to be inherent in the act of writing, Goldberg continues by saying that James was fully aware of "the ideological function of writing as an instrument of royal power" (55). But one could more clearly state the case by saying that James was a monarch who through both his early education and his engagement with a necessary textual opposition learned "the *defining and communicative* function of *his own* writing as an instrument of royal power." One must not underestimate the role that both his own writings and those of his principled opposition played in the development and consolidation of his royal authority in Scotland.

James had spent his youth as a king who was at the mercy of others and their words. Having been forced to "speik latin ar [he] could speik Scotis" (James VI and I, "Apopthegmata Regis" lxxii), and having been forced at the August 1571 Parliament at Stirling to recite a prepared speech transferring his monarchical power to Regent Lennox (Bingham, *James VI* 36), he had been a theoretical rather than a practical king—a figurehead or token monarch who because of his youth had unwittingly given his theoretical consent to the political machinations of those around him. With no voice or written word of his own, he had no authority of his own. By becoming an author and controller of words himself, however, James would develop and consolidate his rule of a nation whose church and nobility had shown little reverence for a minority monarch. Though his problems in establishing and asserting his authority in Scotland were numerous, he showed little inclination to enforce his rule by militaristic means. Instead, he learned early how to use the written and spoken word to his communicative and

authoritative advantage, and turned to the text and the intertextual dialogue which it engendered to develop and articulate a conception of his monarchical power. In becoming "that rare creature, a literate king, James was his own polemicist" and political theorist (Kernan 93), a monarch who explored the intimate connection between authorship and authority: "Since he was fighting to preserve his life and his throne against those who threatened both, he deployed his full arsenal of verbal rapiers and philosophical muskets" (Lockyer 38). In Scotland—and then in England with the frequent reissue of his writings culminating in the 1616 publication of his aptly named and definitive *Workes*—to consolidate his monarchical authority he would put to work a different sort of weaponry than his mediaeval predecessors did, relying on words rather than swords to become both author and authority of a nation: a divine-write monarch.

Notes.

¹This quotation is from page 55 of James VI and I's *Basilicon Doron*.

Chapter 4. "A Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie"¹: James VI as Novice Poet at Work

By 1599, James VI of Scotland felt confident enough in his kingship to publish a work on the art of ruling—*Basilicon Doron*—whose purpose was to serve as an instructional manual for his young son, Prince Henry. It is significant that James intended this text for an apprentice king who was to use it to learn the art of kingship, for in his youth James too had been a monarchical apprentice as minority ruler of Scotland. It is significant also that James viewed a literary work such as *Basilicon Doron* as a powerful means of preparing his son for kingship by educating him in such monarchical virtues as firm authority and mediation. Comfortable by 1599 in the role of teacher, James could combine the ideas of educational apprenticeship and literary power and assert them in an overtly political work like *Basilicon Doron*. From the early 1580s, however, as he was himself preparing to advance from minority to majority rule, he served part of his own political apprenticeship in a less obviously political forum—the circle of his "Castalian band" of poets—in which he functioned as both patron and poet.² Of course James served his political apprenticeship in other ways, such as his gruelling education under George Buchanan and Peter Young, and his token appearance in the summer of 1571 at a Parliament at Stirling to confirm the choice of the Earl of Lennox as his new regent. Yet one cannot overlook how his poetic enterprise contributed to his growing authority by providing a textual testing-ground where both his mastery of the little "poetic world" of his coterie and the mediating, dialogical, creative, and ordering force of his own verse prefigured his later textually informed style of political rule. At the crucial time of his early political development in the 1580s, by patronising the works of his "Castalian band" of poets and by writing poetical works of his own—in particular the aptly titled 1584 *The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie*—James explored, exercised,

and refined his monarchical skills of representation, dialogue, mediation, and control as he learned to apply them to the realm at large. In short, poetry "became the means through which the king entered politics" (Bell 198). Later in his life, particularly after his accession in England, James would all but abandon poetry and concentrate on more overtly political writing; at the time of his coming of age in Scotland, however, when he crossed the border which separates the theoretical from the practical monarch, his poetic "apprenticeship" served as a "rite of passage" as he began to assume practical control of the realm and become a master statesman as well as a master poet.

In terms of Scottish literary history, James Craigie concisely sums up the significance of James's poetic involvement in the 1580s and 1590s: "King James has a twofold importance in the history of Scottish literature in the late sixteenth century. Not only was he a poet himself, he was also a favourer of poets" (Introduction 1: xxiv). Although my dissertation examines James's poetic enterprise not in terms of the development of a Scottish national literature, but rather in terms of the development of James's kingship, part of Craigie's assessment is nonetheless applicable. As both patron and poet in early modern Scotland where the writing of poetry and the practice of politics were public acts, James had a twofold opportunity to turn poetic involvement to his political advantage. He actively made poetics the rhetoric of public policy, and in fact even explored the means by which both his patronage and writing of poetry could help determine and refine his already textually based kingship. John Spottiswoode says that even though James was young when he assumed practical control of Scotland, "yet did he shew more judgement in his very beginning, then could be expected from one of his years" (282). Due to his text-based education under Buchanan, James certainly showed a great understanding of the degree to which his kingship depended upon his literary involvement. Although he was comparatively young during the time of his greatest poetic involvement in the 1580s, he was fully cognisant that the patronage and practice of poetry was an inherently political act related to the specific practice of monarchical rule.

In his patronage and writing of poetry, he saw the intimate connection between the public poetical and political worlds, and realised that his literary involvement was a political apprenticeship through which he could develop and refine the political skills of creation and order required of him as monarch.

In a 1610 speech to his English Parliament, James would state that the king's powers of creation and judgement are God-like ones: "God hath power to create, or destroy, make, or vnmake at his pleasure, to giue life, or send death, to iudge all, and to be iudged And the like power haue Kings" ("Speech of 1610" 181). He might have added, "And the like power haue poets," for his use of the term "make" draws a creative connection between godly rule and the practice of writing. God is commonly called the creator or "maker," but in Middle Scots, the word "makar" refers also to another creative force—the poet, as illustrated in William Dunbar's poem "Lament for the Makaris." In his very choice of words, James acknowledges that his creative power as monarch is similar not just to that of God, but also to that of the divinely inspired poet. His Scots usage is definitive and unavoidable. "Makars"—and the patrons who govern them—are creators whose control of the text is analogous to both God and the monarch's control over earthly subjects. Being such a textual creator as the central patron and "makar" of the "Castalian band," James ensured that his poetic enterprise helped to define, articulate, and thus consolidate his monarchical one.

Since a literary patron's powers to govern the textual world mirror the king's divinely ordained powers to govern the secular and spiritual ones in God's name, exploring the ideologies inherent in poetic patronage was an important means by which James began to shape his own monarchical authority. Other phrases which James uses in his 1610 statement regarding the powers of God and the monarch hint at some of the divine-right monarchical ideologies inherent in his literary patronage. As patron, he performs a godly act of creation when he "giue[s] life" both to a poetic world and to the literary figures who populate it. In having the power to create literary figures, he also has the power to

destroy them, "to make, or vnmake" them just as God or a king can create or destroy subjects "at his pleasure." Of course, although God can discipline his subjects according to his "pleasure," that pleasure consists in his ability "to iudge all" fairly rather than to impose his own whims upon them. Similarly, the discriminating poetic patron, who possesses a divinely bestowed faculty of judgement, is the sole figure able to adjudicate between his literary subjects and establish a poetic hierarchy among them. And as the king-like figure at the top of this poetic hierarchy, he enlivens the literary order through his active governance, commanding panegyric works of his subjects just as God and the king require praise and service from their own subordinates. In short, as poetic patron, James defined and refined in the textual realm many of the God-like powers that he would exercise in the monarchical one: the powers to create, command, order, judge, reward, punish, and even engage with his subjects. In ruling the poetic world of the Castalian band at the time when he began to assume practical control of the nation, he served a compelling textual apprenticeship which prepared him for his political rule as monarch.

Both he and his circle of poets considered his literary enterprise as patron—and eventually as poet—in terms of an apprenticeship. James's own unpublished poem—"An admonition to the Master poet," which must have been written in the early 1580s since he quotes its tenth stanza in his 1584 "Revlis and Cautelis" ("Revlis" 80)—clearly illustrates that he and his circle of poets considered their textual interaction to be more than what Jenny Wormald calls a "leisure pursuit" ("Context" 38). Rather, the poem demonstrates that they saw the patronage and writing of poetry as a *craft* in the most literal sense of the word: as a king's *work*, a necessary practice with a more serious purpose than that of mere entertainment. In the poem, James assumes the persona of a poetic apprentice, a humble figure named William Mow who warns his literary better—the poet Alexander Montgomerie—to beware of undue pride. At various points in the poem, James couches the poetic enterprise in terms of blacksmithing, a gruelling, earthy occupation far

removed from the writing of idle and idealised verse. In the first few lines, for example, when he utters advice to the master poet, he calls the practice of writing a practical craft as well as an art form:

Beloued Sanders maistre of our art

The mouse did helpe the lion on a daye

So I protest ye take it in good part

My admonition cumming from a hart

That wishes well to yow and all your craft. (James VI and I, "Admonition" lines 2-6)

By calling Montgomerie a "master poet" in both the poem's title and its opening, James indirectly calls himself an apprentice poet, and even apprentice patron. Continuing the blacksmith conceit, he states that the members of the Castalian band toil in "the smitthie smuikie," competing with each other to "winne the chimnay nuike" (line 14; line 16), the master poet's place of honour, particularly, in literal terms, in the draughty Scottish castles where James met with his literary counterparts. Basically, his poem to Montgomery demonstrates that James saw his poetic involvement as both writer and patron as a form of apprenticeship: a means of "getting his hands dirty" in wordcraft as he sought to master its related discipline of statecraft.

Others viewed James's poetic enterprise in a similar manner. The members of the Castalian band mentioned in the poem itself as toiling in the "smitthie smuikie"--Montgomerie, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, Robert Hudson, and the poetess Christian Lindsay--must have understood and probably encouraged James's conception of himself as a monarch-in-training serving out his apprenticeship in the literary realm. Other poets not mentioned in this self-defining poem, but who nonetheless were at various times members of the Castalian band--Robert Hudson's brother Thomas, William Fowler, John Stewart of Baldynneis, and Alexander Hume--by participating in the textual interplay, and presumably in the poetic discussions around the "chimnay nuike," also were aware of the importance which the developing monarch placed upon his ability to

control the text. And if James Melville's opinion is any indication, the young king's literary apprenticeship to rule was both a widely known convention and a respected accomplishment. Although not a member of the Castalian band, Melville was acutely aware of the importance of the written text to James' rule. Unsurprisingly, when Melville published his 1598 book entitled *A Spirituall Propyne of a Pastour to his People*—a book which contains religious instructional aids such as the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles' Creed in verse form—in an act of mediation and engagement he dedicated the work to his “gracious and dreade Sovereigne, James the Sext, King of Scottes, and Prince of Poets in his language” (Irving 479).

In addition to acknowledging the temporal and text-based authority of the monarch, Melville, in the dedicatory sonnet, appeals to James using the very terms of apprenticeship which the king himself had used in the early 1580s. In the sonnet, Melville calls himself his “Majesties maist humble Oratour and new Prentise in Poesie, JA. MELUILL,” and confirms the king's political and literary authority by saying that James ranks as “high in verse as in praeceminence” (479). Melville continues by saying that James's literary and political “precepts” and “practise” are widely understood, and that many authors compose “poetick speitches” according to these principles. Perhaps hoping to join this company, Melville calls himself James's “prentesse rude,” and again echoing the terminology which James uses both in his poem to Montgomerie and in the title of his 1584 *The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie*, he offers his text to the king as his “essay” or attempt at poetry (480). Closely linking the poetical and political enterprises through the idea of apprenticeship, Melville demonstrates that the metaphor by which James understood his role as patron and poet was a well-known one. Although he was a minor poet who had not been a member of the Castalian band, Melville well understood that the king considered poetry to be *work* in the most literal sense. He had himself engaged with James in a longstanding textual dialogue that had begun with the *Presbyterian Second Book of Discipline*, and even as a poetic outsider he

was fully aware that literary interplay was a necessary way of engaging politically with a monarch who based his kingship so firmly on the text.

If the metaphor of a blacksmith's apprenticeship describes *what* James believed his poetic patronage and writing to be doing—preparing him for political rule—then two others describe more clearly *how* his role as patron functioned in the different stages of the apprenticeship. The first stage of the poetic circle's existence—from James's assumption of majority rule in 1579 until his abduction by the "Ruthven Raiders" in 1582—was marked by what Caroline Bingham calls the existence of a metaphorical and idealistic "little world with [the] monarch at the center." In this romanticised courtly world, James functioned as "King Cupid" at the centre of the male-oriented court, the passive recipient of the admiring verse of his band of poets (*James VI* 77). The beginning of this "King Cupid" stage of James's poetic involvement roughly coincided with the September 1579 arrival in Edinburgh of James's flamboyant French Catholic cousin Esmé Stuart, Seigneur d'Aubigny, under whose romantic and political influence James quickly fell. James Craigie argues that for a textually sensitive monarch such as James, the fact that Esmé Stuart had in all likelihood met some of the French poets whose works the young king admired—Ronsard and the former soldier du Bartas, for example—inspired an intense personal interest in the poetry of the glamorous French court to which his mother had once belonged. In a rare (for him) example of *double entendre*, Craigie sums up the poetic and romantic drive which Esmé inspired in James: "it may be that James's intercourse with Esmé Stuart was the catalyst which released his literary ambitions" (Introduction 1: xxi). In the early part of his majority rule, while he was under Esmé's almost romantic sway, as monarch of an idealistic poetic circle James was "King Cupid," and Helena Mennie Shire says that "in terms of that metaphor a coherent 'little world' was made" with him at its literary centre (*Song* 90).

The most important part of Shire's statement is that the poetic world "was made" around James as "King Cupid"; that is, in his early, innocent phase of poetic

involvement, James took a passive role in literary patronage, allowing his poets to create his image for him rather than actively creating it for himself. His governing metaphor of the early stage of his poetic involvement—the conception of himself as “King Cupid” at the centre of a romanticised court of poets—was itself an unoriginal one derived from the literary activities of his grandfather, King James V, who in his youth had used a similar comparison to characterise his position as the central figure of a group of courtly poets who concerned themselves largely with writing love poetry (Shire, *Song* 3). One of James’s circle of poets in the early stage of his majority rule was even a throwback to his grandfather’s court; Alexander Scott had been a songwriter and poet in the court of James V, and in 1562 had been the author of “Welcum, illustrat Ladye and oure quene,” a poem which praised Mary for having attained majority rule. In the dedication to the work, Scott had called himself Mary’s “sempill servand,” an epithet that Shire argues is evidence that at the time, “loyal and poetic service [were] one” (*Song* 47). By his very existence in James’s poetic circle as a figure who helped to usher in another monarchical power, Scott was a testament to the fact that James’s poetic enterprise—at least in its more passive “Cupid” phase—was expected and approved at the Scottish court. When Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth wrote his 1579 “The Promine: on his majesties first going into the fields,” then, in celebrating the majority rule of the monarch, he was following a well-established panegyric tradition. Similarly, when Alexander Montgomerie wrote *The Navigatioun*, a poem which was “a carefully planned cultural and political operation to catch the fancy of the King” upon his entry into Edinburgh as majority monarch in late 1579, the act was “patently a courtly devising” on the part of Esmé Stuart, and a conventional one at that (Shire, *Song* 84-5). And in Montgomerie’s “The sacrifice of Cupid,” the narrator at one point pledges his allegiance to Cupid and thus helps articulate the metaphor which placed the young king at the literary centre of an idealised “court of love”:

Thou sall be my Maister evermair,

And I sall be thy seruand in sik sort

To merit thy maintenance if I may.

My pen thy princely pussance sall report. (lines 12-15)

As well as being not entirely original, the "King Cupid" metaphor was an ambiguous representation of—or perhaps model for—a king on the verge of assuming practical political power. The passive nature of James's poetic enterprise at this time as well as the basic symbolism of Cupid indicate James's minority status. In many respects, Cupid, the son of Venus, goddess of love, was (and still is) represented as a somewhat powerless figure: a child; a demi-god; the shooter of physically harmless arrows. To some degree, the comparison between Cupid and James in the late 1570s and early 1580s is an accurate, if not entirely flattering one; the son of a woman whom the Presbyterians believed to be sinfully amorous, James was little more than a child, and as a theoretical but not yet practical monarch, he too was a sort of demi-god, armed with a monarchical power that he was not yet able to use to its full potential. Yet although the classical Cupid does not possess great physical or political power, his control of the local effects of love ironically accords him a mental or at least emotional control over others that belies his existence as a mere child. By virtue of his being a child but also a king, James possessed a comparable degree of subtle power; paradoxically, he was at the same time childish but serious, fun-loving but debilitating, and harmless but potentially dangerous for those at court. As a Cupid figure at the centre of a group of admiring poets but wounded by one of his own arrows and thus under the sway of Esmé Stuart, James was an unoriginal, unauthoritative, and passive figure, content not to be an overly active patron, poet, or political ruler. But like Cupid who potentially controlled the hearts, minds, and actions of men, as a minority ruler making the transition from theoretical to practical ruler, James possessed a budding literary and political agency that it would be foolish for his courtiers to ignore.

Although his 1579-82 reign as "King Cupid" was not James's most powerful or productive period as literary patron or as monarch, it did function as an apprenticeship. In 1581, after the Earl of Morton's trial and execution, James exercised his own judgement by granting to Esmé Stuart much of the political power that Morton had formerly wielded as regent (McElwee, *Christendom* 49). In late 1579, however, he had in a way rehearsed this transfer of political power from one figure to another by overseeing a comparable transfer of poetical power. After a flyting contest that pitted the premier poet of his fledgling circle, Patrick Hume of Polwarth, against Alexander Montgomerie in an exchange of verse invective, James judged Montgomerie to be the winner. Montgomerie—who had ties to Esmé Stuart since Esmé had commissioned him to write *The Navigatioun* in his own effort to win James's favour—thus replaced Hume in the "chimnaye nuike" as James's poetic favourite, and remained there until he was himself supplanted as James's favourite by William Fowler around 1586 (Shire, *Song* 79-81). Long before James chose George Villiers as his favourite because of his dancing ability, and even before he accorded Esmé Stuart the status of being his first real personal and political favourite, the poetic realm provided him with a training-ground in which he could adjudicate between texts and thus explore the powers of judgement and creation which he would later require when he assumed practical control of government. Since few poetic works survive which James himself actively commissioned or even composed before 1583, he appears to have restricted his poetic activity during that period mainly to receiving and periodically judging verse. Nonetheless, his limited involvement in his loosely defined poetic circle before 1583 gave him a means of exploring his power to choose favourites, and in doing so, gave him a heightened awareness of the text's potential power as a means of establishing order and thus controlling men. In short, his experience as "King Cupid" laid the groundwork for his later text-based political rule, in which as a patron and poet, James relied on the written word far more than did his predecessors to define and articulate his monarchical authority.

The 1582-3 "Ruthven Raid" marked a watershed for James in terms of both his literary and political involvement, for after this event, he began to base his poetic enterprise upon a different and more authoritative metaphor: that of himself as the "royal Apollo" ruling over the Castalian band of poets. Until 1582, aside from occasionally judging the verse of his poets, James took little interest in actively ruling his idealistic "little world" of poetry. That is, rather than function to any significant degree as author—either writer or active patron—he generally preferred to be his poets' audience, thus ensuring that the system of literary patronage worked only loosely from the centre, often engineered by figures such as Esmé Stuart who sought to exploit the text to win royal favour. Similarly, during this period James had been a majority political ruler in name only, leaving the practical exercise of his theoretical authority first to the Earl of Morton and then to Esmé Stuart. All of this changed on 22 August 1582, when the "Ruthven Raiders," an armed force headed by the Earl of Gowrie, the Earl of Mar, and the Master of Glamis, captured James and subsequently held him prisoner for almost a year. James's captors forced him to sign a declaration exiling Esmé Stuart, and with James imprisoned and Esmé exiled, the operation of the loosely organised circle of poets was suspended (Shire, *Song* 91). The juvenile and uncontested "little world" of "King Cupid" had come to an abrupt end.

With his escape from captivity in June 1583, James developed a sense of political agency—or perhaps urgency. Although the "Ruthven Raid" was not a violent coup d'état, "its effect upon James was as profound as if he had been subjected to gross brutality" (Bingham, *James VI* 67), for it demonstrated to him that however inviolable his theoretical authority as monarch might be, in practical terms he was both physically and politically vulnerable to the predations of his often violent nobles. With Esmé Stuart exiled, James for the next two years relied quite heavily on the military and administrative prowess of his kinsman, Captain James Stewart, Earl of Arran, who as Lord Chancellor helped James to govern with a force that he had not previously exercised

over his subjects. Despite Arran's assistance, however, James wished to be an autonomous ruler, and planned to "use every means that came to hand" (McElwee 54)—including active poetic involvement—to become pre-eminent. At this time, his "literary interests merged with his political ones" (Jack, *Italian* 86) even more closely than they had before the "Ruthven Raid," and it was no accident that "politics interwove with the maturing of music and poetry" at court (Shire, *Song* 69). As patron, James began to govern his Castalian band of poets with more authority and organisation than before. For example, he replaced the idealistic metaphor of himself as Cupid, the infant son of Venus and emotional ruler of humans, with a more authoritative image: that of Apollo, god of poetry and purveyor of an adult textual and political authority. Like Apollo who had tamed the muses and put them to constructive use, James brought the Castalian band more directly under his control, making them "heavily reliant" upon him (Jack, "Poetry" 138) in his new role as active patron. He emphasised their subservience by designating their individual positions within the poetic circle and by taking a firmer hand than before in determining the nature of their poetic output, with the result that his patronage and governance of his poets made him an authoritative monarch of the literary world.

James functioned as the authoritative "royal Apollo" by controlling his poetic world in a number of ways: like a God, he created and ordered it by designating roles for each of his poets; he adjudicated between these poets, choosing favourites; he even controlled his poets' textual output by assigning poetic projects for them in a manner which prefigured his later supervision of the King James Bible project. Ronald Jack states that "the practice of this court group [of Castalian poets] determined the nature of Scottish poetry" (*Italian* 54), and if this is indeed the case, since he was the centre of the Castalian band as controlling patron after 1583, James himself played a significant role in the development of Scottish poetry at the end of the sixteenth century. And the textual control which he exercised over the poetic nation anticipated that which he would

exercise over the political nation as monarch. James Cranstoun dismisses James's literary involvement by saying that it merely reflects the "empty pedantry, literary ambition, and inordinate vanity of the king" (Cranstoun xx), but others attribute to it a greater significance. Helena Mennie Shire, for example, states that after 1583, James's poetic circle was "a play-world" and "an academy in little" (*Song* 88; 7), and Ronald Jack supports this opinion by arguing that the Castalian band's operation was "part game, part tuition" for James ("Poetry" 125). Like a children's game that teaches while entertaining (itself a fundamental principle of rhetoric), James's poetic enterprise was a form of textual tutelage through which he learned many of the fundamental skills which he would require as monarch. As ruler of a poetic analogue—or even microcosm—of the political world, James served a literary apprenticeship for monarchical rule, and as a result, his poetic involvement might rather be termed "government in little." In his role as active patron—and eventually as published poet—he experimented with ways of controlling the written word, and these lessons in textual patronage, control, dialogue, and even authorship prepared him to exercise similar powers as textually informed head of the political nation.

After the "Ruthven Raid," then, James as the "royal Apollo" began to assume an authoritative literary identity which prefigured—and almost served as a prerequisite for—his political one. Although as early as October 1580 he displayed an interest in the Castalian metaphor by sending a book entitled *Aulicus castellionis*—"the Castalian court"—to John Gibson for rebinding ("Library of Mary" 17), Helena Mennie Shire argues that only after his escape from his captors in 1583 did James gain a new literary resolve and find "solace, companionship and support and even a force for amity and concord in his Castalian band" (*Song* 98). To some degree, James found these qualities in his poetic circle, but on a fundamental level, he discovered something other than companionship; as the governing patron of a literary world which he himself had created, his involvement with the now more firmly established Castalian band of poets provided

him with a means of exploring his divinely inspired creative and ordering power as monarch. By replacing his immature metaphorical identity as "King Cupid" with a more authoritative one as the creative and controlling "royal Apollo," and by naming his "sacred brethren of Castalian band" (James VI and I, "Montgomrie" line 2) after the fountain of Castalia which in ancient Greek mythology had been a sacred source of inspiration for Apollo and the muses, he provided a self-consciously literary rather than romantically theoretical underpinning to his poetic enterprise. But his function as poetic patron was not only a literary one. By likening himself to Apollo, the tamer of the muses, he emphasised his divinity as powerful creative patron of the Castalian band—a divinity which made him also a creative and ordering force as king.

The ideology of divine monarchical order manifested itself in the very make-up of the Castalian band. Just as Apollo tamed the nine muses who in classical mythology resided on Mount Helicon, James brought the Castalian poets under his sway, associating each of them with a classical muse in an empowering act that both reinforced his position as active creator of the poetic realm and prefigured his use of the stylised but politically charged court masque in England as a means of emphasising his central position as monarch. Perhaps emphasising the idea of celestial order, he took as his own companion muse Urania, the muse of astronomy. In addition, he informally assigned to each of his Castalian poets a classical counterpart to create an order whose precise make-up both Shire and Bingham chart with more certainty than any written evidence warrants: John Stewart of Baldynneis (the translator of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*) and Thomas Hudson (the translator of du Bartas' *Judith*), they maintain, were the brothers of Calliope and Clio respectively, muses of epic and history; Alexander Montgomerie (who wrote *The Cherrie and the Slae*) was brother to Erato, the muse of love; the musicians Robert Hudson and James Lauder may have been companions to Terpsichore, the muse of dance and song; and William Fowler (who translated Petrarch's *Trionfi*) was paired with Euterpe, muse of lyric poetry (Shire, *Song* 96-7; Bingham, *James VI* 77-8). The

specific identities of the poets' associated muses are only speculative, but James's general attempt to establish a poetic order speaks for itself. By defining the nature of the Castalian poetic world, James explored in an artistic manner some of the political skills—the establishment and maintenance of order, and even the selection of expert subordinates—which he would require as an autonomous majority monarch ordained by God to rule the nation-at-large.

One can easily view James's poetical rule as a preparatory exercise for his political one since as king, he himself drew no firm distinction between the functions of poet and politician. Although he was not a Castalian poet, and although no evidence exists that he personally met James, the English poet and courtier Sir Philip Sidney existed for James as a model of the ultimate poet-statesman. Malcolm Wallace speaks of the "deep interest which Sidney took in Scottish politics during the last three years of his life," an interest which stemmed from his desire as a Protestant champion to defend England against the Continental Catholic threat by securing James as heir-apparent to Elizabeth (298; 321). In addition to this overriding interest, Sidney had a number of personal connections that kept him "involved in the tangled relations of the English court with Scotland": he was the son-in-law of Sir Francis Walsingham, who had visited James in 1583; in England, he personally entertained the exiled Scottish earls of Mar, Angus, and Glamis after their failed attempt to gain control of James's person in 1585; and most importantly, in persuading Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester to provide part of the roughly 4000 pounds required for the initial payment of James's Elizabethan pension in 1585, Sidney "played a leading part" in negotiating the agreement that informally recognised James as Elizabeth's heir (Boas 174).

Sidney's connections to James, however, went beyond the strictures of diplomacy, for each admired the other's ability to merge the worlds of politics and literature. For his part, James admired Sidney's poetry, and in forming the Castalian band "clearly intended to establish at his court a poetic group comparable to Sidney's own circle" in England

(Baker-Smith 93). James expresses admiration for Sidney as both a political and a literary figure in the sonnet entitled "An Epitaphe on Sr Philip Sidney" that he contributed to the 1587 *Academiae Cantabrigiensis Lachrymae*, the Cambridge collection of verses lamenting Sidney's 1586 death. In this sonnet which begins the book, James as king and poet links himself with Sidney the statesman-poet by urging the gods of war and of poetry—and even the goddess Minerva who oversaw both martial and artistic endeavours—to mourn the untimely death of a figure who had during his lifetime been a statesman as well as a poet:

Thou mightie Mars the God of souldiours braue
 And thou Minerue that does in witt excell
 And thou Apollow that does knowledge haue
 Of euerie art that from Parnassus fell
 With all the Sisters that thereon doe dwell

Lament for him who dewlie seru'd yow all. ("Sidney" lines 1-6)

Sidney had expressed an admiration for James in his early 1580s *Defence of Poesie*, a work in which he lists "King James of Scotland" among those "Kings" and "great Captains" whose wont it had been "not onelie to Favour Poets, but to bee Poets" (35). Although Sidney may be referring here to James I of Scotland, the supposed author of the "Kingis Quair," James Craigie argues that the chronological listing of figures as well as the lack of specificity in the reference indicates that Sidney is praising the literary involvement of the current Scottish king, James VI ("Sidney's" 648). Had Sidney been a Scot, he would have been James's ideal subject: one who saw and encouraged an intimate connection between literature and politics and believed that "all government of action is to be gotten by knowledge, and knowledge best by gathering manie knowledges, which is reading" (Sidney 31).

If Thomas Kyd's account of Christopher Marlowe's activities in the early 1590s is to be believed, then James's linking of poetry and politics made him the ideal monarch for

radicals and poets seeking political alternatives. Charles Nicholl argues that a "cross-over between the poets and the shady servants of government" existed in late Elizabethan England (257), and points to Marlowe as a prime example of a figure who had both a literary and a political identity. Perhaps, like Sidney, Marlowe had a set of literary skills—those of developing an alternative vision and creatively arguing and articulating it, for example—that enabled him to effect this "cross-over" and made him the sort of figure who might have appealed to a king who himself straddled the literary and political worlds. But there is a more direct connection between Marlowe and James, one made more clear by Kyd's statements while he was being questioned about his suspected involvement in the 5 May 1593 "Dutch Church libel." After accusing Marlowe of atheism, Kyd continued by saying that the playwright had attempted to persuade other "men of quality to go unto the K of Scots," and before his death had "meant to be" at the Scottish court himself (260). Although one must regard Kyd's accusations critically since he made them under duress, they characterise James and his Scottish court in two ways. First, they articulate that in Kyd's mind, the Scottish court was at best the seat of a new politics, and at worst, a seat of sedition where "the shady servants of government" in England—especially those such as Marlowe whom Nicholl says were involved in the "tangle of succession politics" (261)—might find a haven. And Kyd's accusations, if true, demonstrate that Marlowe viewed the Scottish court as one in which the "cross-over" between literature and politics was natural, accepted, and even necessary. Even those at the centre of the succession issue realised that James's polity was inherently textual; in the years before 1603, Sir Robert Cecil engaged with James in a secret written correspondence in order to facilitate a peaceful transfer of monarchical power. For the radical Marlowe who operated on the "outer fringes" of the Elizabethan secret service as an undercover anti-Catholic agent both at Cambridge in the early 1580s and at Flushing in early 1590s (Nicholl 100-102; 246-7)—and even for Secretary of State Cecil who served at the centre of government—James was a model king who considered

himself to be both a literary and political figure, and one who surrounded himself and engaged with figures who shared this dual identity.

The dual identity of several members of the Castalian band further demonstrates that James did not clearly distinguish between his poetical and political enterprises. Robert Hudson, for example, was primarily a musician, but did contribute one of the commendatory sonnets that prefaced James's 1584 *The Essayes of a Prentise in the Diuine Art of Poesie*. In 1587, having served out a poetic apprenticeship of his own, he became James's Treasurer of the Chapel Royal, and in that same year, his brother Thomas, the translator of du Bartas' *Judith*, assumed the position of Master of the Chapel Royal (Shire, *Song* 72). William Fowler, the translator of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, had served as a Protestant spy in Europe in 1578 after completing his studies at St Andrews (Jack, *Italian* 74). In addition, in 1593 he became royal secretary to Queen Anne, and he even communicated with Walsingham regarding the potential Jacobean succession (Shire, *Song* 81).

Alexander Montgomerie, both at the time and to this day the most famous of James's Castalian poets, was "a man of scholarly tastes, culture, and refinement," and this very reputation made him a political figure since "to have a known poet in residence in the northern court gave pleasure and prestige" to James as king (Cranstoun xiii; Shire, *Song* 85). On the title page to the 1636 version of *The Cherrie and the Slae*, Montgomerie is referred to as "Captaine" (Montgomerie, 1536 *Cherrie* 177), a literary epithet befitting of the man whom James himself referred to as "the prince of Poets in our land" (James VI and I, "Montgomrie" line 3). The title of "captain" had military undertones which were not merely coincidental, however; in addition to being a poet, Montgomerie may have commanded Scottish troops in the Low Countries in the late 1570s (Parkinson 12) and thus been a soldier-poet not unlike Sidney. In 1584, James granted Montgomerie a pension, and in 1586--about the same time that Marlowe was in the service of the English government as an *agent provocateur*--Montgomerie joined the English and Dutch forces

then fighting the Spanish in the Netherlands (13). But Montgomerie's purposes in going to the Continent do not seem to have been entirely straightforward. Helena Mennie Shire maintains that James had "charged Montgomerie with the King's affairs . . . on an errand of a Catholic colour" (Shire, Introduction 11), and given the rumours that abounded even after Montgomerie's death in 1598 about his potential involvement in a number of Catholic intrigues (Parkinson 14-15), it is entirely possible that James had entrusted his master poet with a more subtle operation than an overt military strike. Montgomerie was imprisoned on the Continent for roughly a year (Parkinson 13), perhaps for political or religious reasons as much as for military ones. In general, Marlowe was correct in his assessment of James, who as monarch in Scotland—and eventually in England through his well-documented political relationship with literary figures such as Jonson and Donne, and arguably, even Shakespeare—ensured that his political practice was fundamentally a textually and artistically informed one.

This textual apprenticeship that James underwent as patron of Montgomerie and the rest of the Castalian band of poets allowed him to refine a number of specific skills that he would require as monarch. For example, being the primary member of his poetic circle afforded him the opportunity to exercise a skill that Buchanan had sought to instil in him: that of mediator. Shire argues that in the context of often-violent late-sixteenth-century Scottish politics, the term "band" connoted a group of men such as the "Ruthven Raiders" who were united by a common malevolent interest and who achieved their ends by means of brute force. By bringing together in a "band" a wide variety of poets whose political and literary pretensions interested him, however, James rehabilitated the term, investing it with a sense of brotherhood and fellowship, thus reinforcing his authority as mediator and peacemaker (*Song* 98). As a member of a poetic circle which he refers to as "ye sacred brethren of Castalian band" ("Montgomrie" line 2), James was a key component of a literary world united in peace and friendship. Through his interactions with these "brethren," and through his redefinition of the term

"band," Shire argues, he found in his poetic circle "a force for amity and concord" (*Song* 98) which served as a model for his later attempts to become "the peacemaker of Europe."³

Although he was *a part* of the Castalian band, he was also *apart from* it, and "liked to set his literary friends tasks" (Baker-Smith 94) in order to articulate his authority as patron. This governance of the poetic realm as an active literary patron underlined his position as a mediating textual authority and at the same time honed his ability to command men as a political ruler. During James's "royal Apollo" period after 1583, several of his Castalian "muses" either composed or translated epic works as a result of his patronage and direction. Through the nature and content of these works—and through the very act of completing them on monarchical demand, since "for late sixteenth-and early seventeenth-century poets, the way of saying something was just as important as what was said" (Jack, *Italian* 118)—the Castalian poets crafted a literary realm that in meeting monarchical specifications mimicked the political realm in which the king occupied the highest position in the hierarchy. William Fowler's *Triumphs*, Thomas Hudson's *Judith*, John Stewart of Baldynneis' *Roland Furious*, and most importantly the master poet Alexander Montgomerie's *The Cherrie and the Slae*—these are only a few of the works whose content and very existence was a testament to the fact that James, in governing and patronising his poets, was an authoritative monarch both of the textual world and of the political one with which it was inextricably conjoined.

As he sought to define his kingship textually, James brought his authority as literary ruler to bear on the poetry of William Fowler. In particular, James influenced Fowler's foray into epic poetry, his 1587 translation of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, a text that was part of James's monarchical heritage since he owned a copy of the Italian original that he had inherited from his mother ("Library of Mary" 7). James was evidently pleased with the content of Fowler's translation of Petrarch's work, especially that of the "Triumphe of Immortalitie" which reaffirms that heavenly forces guide "all earthlie mortall thingis"

(Fowler, *Trivmphs* 127), for he states in a commendatory sonnet attached to the manuscript that with the translation Fowler "triumphes ouer Petrarchs propre name" (James VI and I, "Petrarchs" line 14). Since Petrarch's text was so well-known in Scotland, "a translation of it would be a meaningful contribution to James's vernacular revolution" (Jack, *Italian* 77), a political statement of his literary, political, and even national autonomy. Even more, Fowler's text elicited James's praise because it was a meaningful contribution to the doctrine of the *via media*; as per the king's 1584 "Revlis and Cautelis" concerning poetic structure, Fowler's elaboration and ornamentation of Petrarch's original followed "James VI's dictum, that 'invention' should always accompany imitation, and that all translation should involve some measure of creation" (Jack, *Italian* 80). By controlling both the content and the medium of Fowler's *Trivmphs*, and by passing judgement upon the resulting product, James demonstrated both the degree to which he depended upon his poets to define and articulate his theories of monarchy, and the extent of his growing control of the literary and political realms.

James exercised this increasing textual control by patronising other poets whose works celebrated Scotland's "resurgence under the rule of the poet-monarch, James VI" (87). Thomas Hudson, for example, composed and published his 1584 *Historie of Judith* at James's request. Jack states that many of the works which James's poets composed—including the *Historie of Judith*, which is a translation of du Bartas' *Judith*—were "uninspired translation or imitation" ("Poetry" 133), but one must not overlook their importance as literary and political artefacts. The *Historie of Judith* represented an empowering text for James since as a commissioned translation it served as a precursor to the monarchically definitive King James Bible, and also because it explores the idea of mediation. Hudson argues that when Judith beheaded Holofernes and thus defeated the Assyrians, "the Lord vsed her as an instrument of the deliuerance of his people" ("Argvment" 11). That is, Judith was God's instrument—the ultimate mediating force between Him and His subjects on earth—and thus upheld the divine

order. For this reason, Hudson says, the text deals with "an agreable Subiect to your highnesse" ("Epistle" 4), a monarch whose very existence depended upon his belief in divine sanction of his rule, and who encouraged the writing of biblical poetry that helped to express and consolidate his divinely ordained power.

James's patronage of and involvement in the production of Hudson's text was both direct and public, and therefore emphasised the political nature of the power that he wielded over the poetic realm. In the dedication to the published work, for example, Hudson says that after a debate in which James argued that it was impossible to translate properly the works of du Bartas into the "rude and impollished english language," the king decided "to assigne" Hudson the task of translating du Bartas' *Judith* ("Epistle" 3-4). Hudson further informs his audience of James's active involvement in the creation of the text by saying that the work was "corrected by your Maiest. owne hand" (5). He states that translating the text was a "heauy burden," and only his reliance upon "your highnesse helpe and correction" and "the feruent desire which [he] had to obtemper vnto your Maiest. commandement" (4) allowed him to complete the task. In Hudson's opinion, if the work is successful, any praise must "redound to your Maiest. whose censure I haue underlyen" (5). James's active patronage of Hudson's text, then, demonstrates a literary power akin to his political one. Ordering the production of the text by an author who is eager to please, advising the author regarding the translation, assuming the credit for the finished product—these are all the actions of a figure at the developing centre of a literary and political world.

By translating Ariosto's enormous and politically complex epic *Orlando Furioso* "in dutiful obedience to Jamesean command" (Jack, *Italian* 74), John Stewart of Baldynneis provided the young king with another literary forum in which to refine his political skills. Although *Roland Furiosus* was never published in Stewart's lifetime, it is nonetheless a work that James may well have ordered him to translate because its content and circumstances of production could potentially define and articulate specific monarchical

ideologies. The original manuscript volume is marked with the royal crown and initials (Irving 466), and thus literally had James's stamp of approval, particularly at a time when the king "began to encourage the art of translation at court" (Jack, *Italian* 57). Encouraging Stewart to undertake a literary translation—and more specifically, *Orlando Furioso*, a copy of which James had inherited from Mary, Queen of Scots ("Library of Mary" 9)—served several political purposes for James. For one thing, as a sort of European *Faerie Queene* written before Edmund Spenser was even born, the work functions as the definitive Continental Renaissance mastertext of political rule. Coming out of the ferment and fury of Italian power politics—and in particular out of the court of the politically powerful Este family who in addition to patronising Ariosto and Leonardo were "accomplished rulers who practiced statecraft as an art" as they governed Ferrara (Gundersheimer 4)—the original allegorical text deals with the rise to practical power of Charlemagne, and in doing so documents the rise of the new political order in Europe. Although its subject matter is mediaeval, the text is primarily a statement of European Renaissance political reality as seen by a poet who functioned also as a diplomat and administrator: nations are now unified under centralised and divinely ordained political powers who are responsible for administering justice to and preserving the well-being of their loyal and obedient subjects at all costs.

As a developing monarch himself who had recently been threatened by his unruly nobles, James had a vested interest in the reproduction of such a text that provided both a chronicle of and a prescription for the imposition of centralised political power upon the world. In having Stewart translate "the poetic masterpiece of the Italian Renaissance" (Brand vii) into Scots at least five years before Sir John Harington was to complete the first English translation of the text in 1591, James defined his progressive European-influenced political ideas in vernacular manuscript form for his most eminent Scottish subjects at court, and at the same time demonstrated a unique knowledge of and intimate textual engagement with European political history and theory. Armed with an

understanding of international political affairs and having shared this general knowledge with his subjects through Stewart's vernacular translation that "opened to Scottish readers the gate to Ariosto's inspired and vivid realm" (Jack, *Italian* 71) before that realm was available to readers of English vernacular, James was training both himself and his Scottish subjects in the subtleties of Renaissance power politics, and positioning himself as a locus of political power in a Scottish—if not a British—context.

James encouraged Stewart to translate *Orlando Furioso* also because the text's specific content defined for a court audience an ideology—mediation between extremes—that James had considered a key component to kingship from the time of his childhood tutelage under Buchanan. In Stewart's translation (even more than in Ariosto's Italian original and Desportes' French translation upon which Stewart based much of his text), the dominant theme is the value of following the *via media*. Roland, "quho vas be [God] elect / The Christians from trubill to defend," suffers from a "maladie"—excessive passion—that prevents him from fulfilling his divine purpose (Stewart, *Roland* 98; 100). Only when he tempers his passion with "Iudgement" or reason is he able to "mend" this flaw in himself in order to "preserwe the Christians from vrak" and properly serve his Christian king, Charlemagne (99-100). Since he learns to mediate between extremes, Roland functions as a model for monarchical subjects, and also for the king himself. Buchanan taught James that subjects play an important role in upholding the divine monarchical order; by mediating between extremes—emotional, religious, political, or otherwise—each subject, like Roland, helps to ensure secular and ecclesiastical harmony. Likewise, the successful monarch follows the *via media*, moderating passion with reason, tempering punishment with mercy, and in James's opinion, acting as an intermediary between God and His earthly subjects. "As a disciple of the arch-priest of the golden mean, James VI"—and perhaps even as his literary and political instructor—Stewart articulates through the content of *Roland Furious* that extremes must "be channelled into the 'via media'" (Jack, *Italian* 70; 69).

Stewart's translation defines and espouses the *via media* for a limited but nonetheless politically significant courtly audience also through its circumstances of production. On a basic level, the very act of commanding Stewart's translation accorded James a practical literary power as patron that mirrored his theoretical political power as monarch. And as far as the nature of the translation, Stewart's rendering of Ariosto is a loose one at best, one in which he reduces the original forty-six cantos to twelve in what he terms an "abbregement" ("Title" 1). In composing such a hybrid work—what Jack calls a "free adaptation" rather than a literal translation—Stewart was "obeying James's dictum" expressed in his 1584 "Revlis and Cautelis" that a translation should balance restriction and creativity (*Italian* 58; 71). That is, by mediating between rigid imitation and complete freedom and by acting as an intermediary between audience and original author, Stewart finds the *via media*, and is James's ideal subject in the literary world. As a figure who explores the freedom that exists within the restrictions of literary translation, Stewart serves as a practical demonstration for James's political and religious subjects of the mildness of the monarch's yoke: like the original text, James is an authority who guides his subjects but at the same time offers them some degree of freedom. Through both its content and the implications of its genre, Stewart's translation of *Orlando Furioso* helped intertextually to define and articulate James's controlling and mediating authority as both literary and political monarch of Scotland. And perhaps more importantly, the translation's production prefigured the most significant textual means by which James defined his mediating authority in England: commanding and supervising the production of the King James Bible.

James exercised this mediating and engaging authority most effectively in the early 1580s through his poetic dialogue with his master poet, Alexander Montgomerie. James's relationship with Montgomerie was paradoxical. The young king was undergoing an "apprenticeship in making under Montgomerie" (Shire, *Song* 89), and may also have been receiving more conventional political instruction from his "prince of

poets" since at one point a "Capten Montgomery" presented him with a French copy of Chelidonius Tigurinus' *Institutions des Princes* (Warner 1); yet the very fact that James as patron could to some degree direct the general nature of Montgomerie's poetic undertaking demonstrated the young monarch's growing power both as literary and political ruler. In his "Epitaphe on Montgomrie," James calls Montgomerie "the prince of Poets in our land" (line 3), and in his "Admonition to the Master Poet," he refers to him as the "maistre of our art" (line 2). This admission of Montgomerie's poetic prowess makes it all the more remarkable that just as "the mouse did helpe the lion on a daye" (line 3), James—the apprentice poet and patron—can even under the guise of a poetic persona "admonish" and command the master poet who is providing him with lessons in poetics and politics. However, as the "royal Apollo" in the Castalian band, James did not simply engage with, critique, and govern Montgomerie's verse. He also controlled Montgomerie personally and financially by awarding him a pension in 1584, an act that theoretically granted Montgomerie a degree of financial security but at the same time made him James's dependant. In an effort to assert his authority over the Kirk, James arranged for Montgomerie's pension to be drawn from the archbishopric of Glasgow and for this reason it was contested by the Chancellor of Glasgow University, William Erskine (Parkinson 13). Knowing that James considered the literary text to be both a political utterance and a form of currency, Montgomerie appealed "To his Majestie for his Pensioun" in a series of four aptly titled sonnets that ask James not to let "my Pensioun perish vnder your protectione" ("Pensioun" 3: line 14). James's princely ability to control even a poetic "master" artistically and financially through his patronage was an important political statement for a monarch in the process of learning how to govern his most eminent and powerful political subjects.

The best example of the interaction between James's politics and his master poet's verse is Montgomerie's *The Cherrie and the Slae*, a poem that demonstrates "how far royal policy was involved with poetry in the court of King James" (Shire, *Song* 7). Since

James quotes stanza eight of *The Cherrie and the Slae* in his 1584 "Revlis and Cavtelis" as an example of "brokin or cuttit verse" (82-3), Montgomerie must have revealed the poem to a court audience of Castilians at least thirteen years before its first incomplete publication in 1597. With this potential court audience in mind, James may have encouraged Montgomerie to compose the poem in a very deliberate manner, in a specific medium that had inherent in it the idea of divine order. Despite its "brokin or cuttit" construction, *The Cherrie and the Slae* was set to the same music as Sir Richard Maitland's abridgement of Sir David Lyndsay's 1553 poem *The Monarche* (Shire, Song 34-5). Lyndsay's poem (and Maitland's rendering of it) argued that Henry VIII's war against Scotland was a just punishment for Scottish sins, and by stating that even a foreign monarch's actions reflected the divine will, constituted a defence of divine-right monarchy of which James doubtless approved. When contemporary court listeners heard Montgomerie's poem performed as a song, then, and perhaps even themselves performed an ordered dance in conjunction with it, the text brought to mind Lyndsay's famous poem and its defence of the divine order on earth in which the monarch occupied an inviolable place. Just as many contemporary dances had "a social intention and meaning that went beyond that of recreation" (37), *The Cherrie and the Slae* had an intertextual monarchical ideology built into its medium. As a text whose medium is associated with the idea of divine order both through the general harmony implied by music and dance and the specific one implied by the particular public, national, and historical Lyndsay poem upon which it was modelled, the poem is a powerful locus of the artistic and political forces of monarchy.

As a chronicle of his growth as patron, and more importantly, as a manifesto of his developing monarchical ideology, *The Cherrie and the Slae*'s content also had political implications for James's rule. Exactly what that content consisted of during Montgomerie and James's lifetimes, however, is not entirely clear. The poem was published twice by the King's Printer Robert Waldegrave in 1597, a year before

Montgomerie's death. The first printing—which may have been based upon an incomplete manuscript that had circulated at court—apparently “went ahead without author's sanction” (Parkinson 9), for later in 1597 Waldegrave published a second edition that he claims on the title page to have been “Prented according to a Copie corrected be the Author himselfe” (Montgomerie, 1597 *Cherrie*: 176). Ending in mid-stanza and with the narrator's dilemma unresolved, the second 1597 edition of the poem does not seem to be a text that Montgomerie would have considered to be finished. A 1636 printing of the poem by John Wreittoun resolves the narrator's dilemma and is thus complete—perhaps too complete, for David Parkinson says that since Wreittoun's manuscript source is neither known nor apparently extant, the 1636 text's authorship is “somewhat problematic.” Like some other disputed poems that have been attributed to James's master poet, Wreittoun's edition may have been completed “in the manner of but not necessarily by Montgomerie” (10; 5). James had undoubtedly seen a manuscript version of *The Cherrie and the Slae* by 1584, but just which poem Montgomerie had shown him—an incomplete version upon which Waldegrave's printings were based, or a finished one upon which Wreittoun's text would eventually rely—is impossible to determine. Regardless of their states of completion, however, both the 1597 and the 1636 versions of *The Cherrie and the Slae* are didactic works on the virtue of governing oneself according to the *via media*. In manuscript form, Montgomerie's poem functioned as a privately written lesson for a young king, and in printed form both during and after James's lifetime, it served as a public definition of James's mediating style of rule.

If read allegorically, the second 1597 printing of the poem, although incomplete, begins to chronicle and even dramatise James's literary and political coming of age. Peacefully resting on the bank of a river that runs “outouir ane craggie Rok of stane” to a waterfall (Montgomerie, 1597 *Cherrie* lines 79-80), the narrator is approached by Cupid, who offers to lend him his wings, bow, and quiver of arrows so that he might “begyle” a young woman (lines 130-3). Armed with Cupid's “schuting geir,” the narrator promptly

proceeds to wound himself with an arrow and "hurt [his] wanton heart, / In hope to hurt ane vther" (line 132; lines 149-50). Falling under Cupid's power, he will remain in a state of "langour" until he is able, through his own faculties, to find a way to "breik the boundis" of Cupid's spell (line 226; line 250). If he can free himself from the emotive power of the childlike Cupid whom he calls "that littil God of loue" (line 107), the narrator will infuse himself with a new sense of power and vitality; similarly, if he successfully transforms himself as patron from the passive "King Cupid" to the more active and experienced "royal Apollo," James will become a vital and authoritative literary and political leader, and thus give new life to his kingship. In general allegorical terms, then, the text of Montgomerie's poem articulates a common Renaissance trope for active maturity. Describing how the narrator attempts to relinquish Cupid in favour of deeper commitments, the work documents the process by which James has begun to take active control of the Castalian band and develop a new political power and awareness after his escape from the "Ruthven Raiders."

In both printed forms, *The Cherrie and the Slae* is a poetic manual of kingship for James—a manifesto of the *via media* filled with advice for a developing monarch. At the beginning of the 1597 text, the narrator has failed to moderate his passion and wilfulness with reason, and has instead "rashlie enterprysit" to use Cupid's armaments for his own purpose (lines 183-8). After he wounds himself with one of Cupid's arrows, his faculties and emotions are even more out of balance, and he is so overcome with the fire of passion that he must "quenche it" before he is "deuorit" (line 245). Going to the bank of the river to slake his thirst, he sees a cherry tree out of reach on the crag in the river, as well as a bush of sloes within reach on the bank. Wanting to "quenche" his passion with the sweet cherries rather than the bitter sloes, he undergoes an internal conflict in which his emotions assess the risks involved in attempting to reach the cherries. Hope, Courage, and Will urge him forward, but feelings of Dread, Danger, and Despair hold him back and forbid him "to raxe aboue [his] reiche" (lines 351-6). Soon, his faculties of

Experience, Wisdom, Reason, Wit, and Skill arrive in order to tell him to "tak counsaill" and weigh his options carefully before reaching a decision (line 607). The internal debate continues, and although the narrator must act as "Iudge" (line 706), at the end of the poem he is unable to reach any conclusion by listening to the ongoing partisan arguments of his faculties and emotions. Although it is incomplete, the second 1597 edition portrays a narrator in whom James would have taken a particular interest: a figure who is unwilling to adjudicate between opposing points of view, and is thus unable to govern himself, let alone others.

If Montgomerie did indeed complete and show to James the manuscript of what would become Wreittoun's 1636 printing of the poem, the completed *Cherrie and the Slae* communicated to James the necessity of following the *via media*. In the 1636 text, the narrator's dilemma is at last resolved when his emotions and faculties choose Reason "as governour and iudge" over them (Montgomerie, 1636 *Cherrie* line 1330). In this role, Reason argues that the rest of the narrator's internal disputants should "goe together" in order to allow the narrator to make an informed decision regarding the cherries (line 1340). Experience qualifies this argument by saying that the constituent parts of the narrator's mind—and therefore the narrator himself—must not follow "all extreames," but rather must "retaine then the meane" between them (lines 1426-7). This decided, the narrator (along with his mental capacities) proceeds to the rock on which the cherry tree stands, whereupon "the fruite for ripnes [falls]" (line 1578). Having made a transition "from death to life" (line 1587), the narrator is refreshed and his internal debate justified. Through the process of dialogue, he has worked "towards a mean" where "extremes are discarded" (Shire, *Song* 126), and in following the *via media*, has undergone a lesson in mediation of the sort that Buchanan had sought to teach his young charge. Montgomerie's poem was written for the king in the sense that James patronised it, but it was also written for the king in that in either its complete or incomplete form it is a didactic allegory intended to impress upon James the value of

following the *via media*. Shire says that the poem would certainly have brought to mind for contemporary readers or listeners the monarchical apprenticeship of James, a monarch who like the unnamed narrator would himself have to govern with reason and moderation, wisely controlling his passion and eschewing extremes (*Song* 127). Basically, the allegorical content of the poem made it an instructional manual on kingship, a manifesto espousing to James—and to his subjects—the value of dialogue, engagement with literary texts, and adherence to the *via media*. In this way, the work is Montgomerie's "Song of Songs" for the Scottish Solomon, and stands as a strong example of how a poet and his verse had the potential to shape the political policy of textually sensitive and receptive monarch.

In fact, Shire argues that "seldom can poetry and politics have been more strongly interwoven" than with *The Cherrie and the Slae* (*Song* 116). George Stevenson states that through both of James's reigns and even after his death, the poem's "popularity was astonishing." Twenty-two editions of the completed version were published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and as a result, very few poems were "more widely and continuously read" in Scotland during this period (xix). This large public audience long after the poem's composition—and to an even greater extent, the small court audience in the 1580s that included James—saw in Montgomerie's work a sort of national poem or anthem in that it constituted a strong defence, articulation, and even prescription for James's rule. As patron of the premier Scottish poet, James exercised a form of literary governance akin to that which he was learning to exercise as monarch. As well, the poem's specific medium—a song associated with a previous defence of divine-right monarchy—provided an intertextual defence of James's own rule. As an allegory, Montgomerie's poem chronicled James's increasing control over his poetic circle as he shed the image of "King Cupid" and demonstrated himself to be an authoritative "royal Apollo." But most importantly, whether complete or unfinished, it performed a dialogical and didactic function, teaching both James and his court subjects the necessity

and value of reasoned dialogue and mediation between extremes. James created Montgomerie's poem in that he was its patron, but in another sense, the poem created him—and endlessly re-created him—through its power and popularity. His patronage of the poem—and the medium and content of the text itself—helped both to shape and to reinforce his identity even long after his death as a mediating, authoritative, and textually created monarch.

Roderick Watson argues that aside from Montgomerie, the members of the Castalian band—including James—"remain resolutely minor" as far as their poetic reputation is concerned (103). To some degree, he is correct. Compared not just to earlier Scottish poets such as Robert Henryson, William Dunbar, and Gavin Douglas, but also to roughly contemporary English ones such as William Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and John Donne, the Castalians certainly are poets whose reputation for the past four centuries has been modest at best. Yet as part of James's poetic circle in the 1580s, the Castalians occupied an important place at the Jacobean court—the point at which literary enterprise influences monarchical identity and practice—and because of this shaping power, they prefigured and perhaps even outranked their more famous English counterparts in their direct textual influence upon James's political rule. The "smoky smiths" provided a literary training-ground in which the young king forged his political apprenticeship, defining and exploring the monarchical authority that his role as patron accorded him. As far as his patronage of the Castalians was concerned, James "knew it allowed him to exert control over the more influential poets" in Scotland (Jack, "Poetry" 125), thus preparing him to exert political control over his most influential subjects. As active patron of the Castalian band after 1583, James brought men together, engaged with them in literary dialogue, controlled the nature and content of their poetic output, and crafted a poetic realm in which he was mediator, commander, and overall ordering force. By obeying his general poetic dicta, and even by giving him specific political advice in a literary format, the Castalians were James's *model* subjects in two senses of the word: they were

exemplary subjects in that they were obedient and yet willing to engage in dialogue, and they were *practice* ones in that they allowed him to define and craft a textual authority that both prefigured and influenced his political one. Jonathan Goldberg argues that "the actuality of politics requires the fiction of poets" (55); over four hundred years before Goldberg made this general statement, however—and nearly three decades before Jonson and Donne functioned in England as Jacobean literary and political constructs—as active patron of the Castalian band, James demonstrated that he keenly understood and could masterfully realise the poetic text's potential to define and actualise his authority as king.

But James did not textually shape and register his monarchical authority simply by being a patron of poets; he was also a developing poet on his own, and his function as a *vernacular* poet provided an even stronger textual definition and articulation of his kingship and at the same time helped to "affirm the monarch's place in Scotland's national cultural consciousness" (Bell 193). Shire says that James served an "apprenticeship in making under Montgomerie" (*Song* 89) in that Montgomerie and the other poets began to teach the young king the rudiments of poetic composition. This apprenticeship as poet could potentially teach James a number of skills and concepts necessary for kingly rule, for as Goldberg states, in textual terms, "the powers of poet and king are parallel" (18). Basically, wordcraft could help prepare James for kingcraft, since the poet's divine ordination and his creative ability to place order upon his verse mirrored the powers of the monarch to make and unmake his subjects. On a physical level, the king and poet are similar in that they both command great power of expression and are both crowned as a symbol of their power: the master poet with the laurel, and the king with the crown of state. Stewart states this point clearly in his poem entitled "To his maiestie the day of his coronation vith laurell," a work that documents the Castalians' presentation of a laurel wreath to James, perhaps upon the publication of his *Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie*. In the poem, Stewart argues the connection between art and politics in the person of the king, who in addition to wearing the "Croune

Imperiale," wears an "vther secund Croune" of laurel due to his poetic prowess (lines 5-7). Because his poetic enterprise is so closely linked to his political one, James wears "ane Doubill croune" (line 9) that marks him as both a poetical and a political ruler.

But there are other similarities between king and poet, and in "playing both parts, the king goes beyond limits" reached by ordinary subjects (Goldberg 18). Like a king, the poet was seen as divinely ordained, as James expresses in one of his own sonnets: "From sacred throne in heauen Empyrick hie / A breathe diuine in Poets brest does blowe" ("Wyndes," lines 1-2). The poet is an apt symbol of divine-right ideology, for like a king, he is God's instrument, an intermediary figure between God and humans. In James's theory, "like kings, poets were God's lieutenants" (Sharpe, "Writ" 130), ruling the poetic realm, mediating God's word, and communicating His order through both the content and ordered nature of their verse. James believed that just like monarchs with royal proclamations, poets through their verse could reveal the divine order of things, lead men to virtue, and above all "make the earthe obey theme euerie waye" ("Wyndes," line 8). This idea of the poet-king probably stems from the classical view of the poet, which held that the first poets were priests, lawgivers, and most importantly, kings, whose verse called men together into society and brought them from a world of chaos and anarchy into one of reason and order. In such a view, the poet-king through his divinely inspired writings was able to create and maintain society and its order (Smuts, *Origins* 86). Consequently, with each poetic utterance he made in Scotland and even in England, James believed himself to be mediating between God and humans, and imposing on the world a literary order that was indistinguishable from the political one. As an active member of the "sacred brethren of Castalian band," James was both *makar* and *maker*—a divine poet whose works are "exercises in the combined powers of the poet-king" (Goldberg 21), and whose God-like control of the word made him a political authority.

Kevin Sharpe states that "James's poems, though often personal and meditative in tone, are permeated with the language and experience of power" ("Writ" 127); even

more, however, the poems explore and develop the language and experience of monarchical power, and the first of these to do so is James's 1584 collection of verse entitled *The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie*, a text whose publication "corresponds to James's acquisition of full political control" (Bell 198). Having been printed by Thomas Vautroullier at Edinburgh just over a year after James's escape from the "Ruthven Raiders" and then reissued twice in the following year (Craigie, Introduction lxxvii-lxxxii), the *Prentise* marks a crucial stage in the then eighteen-year-old king's transition from political apprentice in poetry to master poet and statesman. The work's title page immediately conveys to the reader the conjunction between the printed word and royal authority. Since Vautroullier was a Huguenot exile (xxv) who according to the title page published the *Prentise* "cvm privilegio regali," the text presents itself as having Protestant royal affiliation and sanction despite the fact that the title page does not explicitly identify James as author. The work is not simply that of a king, but that of a Protestant king who considered his identity as autonomous ecclesiastical head of the nation to be indistinguishable from his identity as a political ruler, and even as poet.

The very title of the work is also significant. The fact that the work deals with the "Divine Art of Poesie" indicates that the poems therein are exercises of the poet's divinely ordained power. This links the practice of poetry to the practice of kingship on the most basic level: both poet and king are God's instruments, exercising a divine and ordering power that is beyond the pale of anything possessed by an ordinary subject. In titling his work the "*Essayes of a Prentise*," James draws on the contemporary French verb "*essayer*," to attempt, and in doing so affiliates himself with Buchanan's other celebrated child pupil, Montaigne, an academic analogue to James and the author of the 1580 text entitled the *Essais*. More importantly, however, with the title James ensures that the volume is governed by his blacksmithing metaphor, since the text contains the "essays" or attempts of an apprentice, presumably to complete his masterpiece. That is,

the poems in this volume are preparatory ones that a poet creates before being qualified as a master-poet—or at least a journeyman, to be more realistic about the actual literary achievement of a king who if he had been forced to live by his poetry alone “would soon have felt that dependence from which many better poets have not been able to save themselves” (McCrie 1: 261n). It is no accident that James titled the volume in terms of apprenticeship, for the title hints at what he does in the work at both a literary and political level: move from an unqualified to a qualified state as poet and monarch.

Examining the works contained in the suggestively titled *Prentise* in the sequence in which they appear (keeping in mind, of course, that this is not necessarily the order in which they were written), one can see that the deliberate ordering of the poems in the text chronicles or dramatises James’s development into a master poet and by implication, authoritative monarch. The commendatory poems by other authors demonstrate that the *Prentise* dramatises James’s development as both poet and king, for although they preface the volume, they were ostensibly written after its completion, and thus provide a post-mortem analysis of what James has achieved with the work. Not surprisingly, the majority of these poems make conventional and perhaps overstated claims about James’s divinely ordained skill as poet. In his sonnet entitled “Can goldin Titan shyning bright at morne,” for example, Montgomerie argues in a self-deprecating manner that the Castalians’ commendatory sonnets “augment the greater nocht a quheit: / Bot they them selues appeares to grow the lesse” (lines 11-12) when compared to James’s poetry. He tells James directly that his poetic fame lies in his own verse rather than in the panegyric poems of subordinates: “So (worthy Prince) thy works sall mak the knawin. / Ours helps not thyne: we steynzie bot our awin” (lines 13-14). A poet identified only as “M.W.” makes a similar point regarding James’s divine poetic prowess, arguing that since the muse Urania has taught “this Prince most rare” and imbued him with “such skill” as a “scholler” and poet, “none [can] with him in Poesie compaire” (lines 6-8). And in his own commendatory sonnet, William Fowler makes the most complete statement of

James's divinity, skill, and fame as poet by quoting the gods who have ordered him to champion James's poetic gifts:

And yow who wrytes in stately verse and prose,

This glorious King's immortall gloire display.

Tell how he doeth in tender yearis essay

About his age with skill our arts to blaise.

Tell how he doeth with gratitude repay

The crowne he wan for his deserued praise. ("Exemed" lines 7-12)

Finally, Fowler states that the greatness of James's poetry is that it is "of God" (line 13), meaning both written *about* Him and inspired *by* Him. In general, most of the commendatory sonnets that begin the text make the basic panegyric statement that James is a divine, skilled, and famed poet.

Yet other of these prefatory poems do more than simply praise James's poetic skill; they also analyse the implications of his poetic enterprise, linking his increasing mastery of the written word with his growing political agency. In the first sonnet of the set, Thomas Hudson intimately conjoins James's "Martiall deeds, and practise of the pen" ("Martiall" line 1), and in doing so argues that by effecting the transition from apprentice to master poet, James will be qualified to rule two worlds; he will be able "To sway the Sword, and gaine the Laurell greene," and as a result, not simply poets, but also "Monarks all to [James] shall quite their place" (line 14; line 11). In the very next sonnet, Hudson's brother Robert makes an even more interesting link between writing and power politics. Like Montgomerie, Hudson praises James's work by stating that since nothing he can say will properly articulate James's greatness, James's works will instead speak for themselves: "Caesars works, shall iustly Caesar crowne" ("Glorious" line 14). Hudson's statement means something more, though—that James's written works are the route to practical power, and will ultimately help crown him not just with the laurel, but with the crown of state as an authoritative king. Patrick Adamson, Archbishop

of St Andrews, makes the same argument in his twelve-line Latin poem entitled "Acrostichon" that follows the prefatory sonnets. The poem's content praises in a conventional manner the poetic prowess that has allowed James to tame the muses, but with the poem's structure—an acrostic in which the first letter of each line combines with the others to spell out IACOBVS SEXTVS (lines 1-12)—Adamson articulates in a visual and literal manner that James's kingship is intricately bound up in the text. The commendatory poems that preface James's own poems, then, help to clarify the volume's title and explain the text's overall function by arguing that as the author of poetry, James is a poetic "prentise" at work preparing himself textually for political rule.

Although it is impossible to determine the composition dates of the individual poems that comprise the *Prentise*, if one examines the poems in the sequence in which James deliberately placed them in the volume, they work together to document or even dramatise his transition from poetical and political novice to authoritative master. His first poem after the prefatory material, "Ane Qvadrain of Alexandrin Verse," functions as his preparatory plea to the Gods before beginning to write in earnest, and characterises him as an apprentice poet. He consciously writes the quatrain in the awkward Alexandrine form, using iambic lines of six feet each which do not flow near as gracefully as do the iambic pentameter lines that Shakespeare, for example, uses to such great effect in his plays and sonnets. If stating in the title that the quatrain consists of unrefined Alexandrines is not enough to show the reader that at the beginning of the volume James is an apprentice poet, then the rest of the poem makes the point clear. Using terms of apprenticeship, James says that "with pen and Poets airt" he "willingly hes servde" the Gods, attempting to compose works worthy of them even "though [his] skill be small" (lines 1-2). Having served them loyally if ineffectually, he begs them to grant his "sute, which after follow shall" (line 4); that is, he asks the Gods to guide and inspire his writing, and thus allow him to produce a masterpiece—the *Prentise* volume itself—the completion of which will accord him the status of poetic authority.

In his suit to the gods consisting of twelve sonnets immediately following the Alexandrine quatrain, James communicates the idea that he is an inexperienced poet, but one who is nonetheless developing into a more skilled practitioner of wordcraft. The fact that the twelve sonnets are Spenserian ones—iambic pentameter lines whose rhyme scheme is *abab bcbe cdcd ee*—demonstrates that although his work is still derivative in form, he is nonetheless a more skilled poet than before. In addition, the sonnets articulate the place that he desires to occupy both as poet and as king: the intermediary position between God and humans. He repeatedly asks the Greek and Roman gods (and by implication, the Christian God) to make him such an intermediary figure by inspiring and sanctioning his work and allowing him to order and create it according to the divine plan. In the first sonnet, he expresses the hope that Jove, the “greatest God about the rest” of the classical deities (“Sonnet 1” line 1), will assist him in his writings and his “veine Poetique so inspyre” that the reader will find his descriptions of Jove’s power realistic and accurate (lines 5-8). James hopes to mediate between Jove and humans so successfully that in reading his work, the audience will see Jove “in verie deid” (line 8), both in his poetic descriptions of the god, and in the ordered and divinely inspired nature of his poetry. Basically, he hopes that the reader sees Jove at work in the poems of the *Prentise*, and that the poems will be the deeds of Jove filtered through James, his instrument. In another sonnet, James asks the muses to imbue his work with “vertewis singuler and seir” (“Sonnet 11” line 11), and more importantly, implores Mercury to give his verse “eloquence deuyne” (line 5). Since in classical mythology Mercury is the messenger of the gods, James finds in him a fitting model for the poet-king: a figure who as a divine instrument is the sanctioned mediator between the gods and humans. Coming back to the apprentice metaphor at the end of the sonnet sequence, James begs the gods to “essay [him] once” as their divine poetical—and even political—instrument (“Sonnet 12” line 13).

But in the sonnets, James goes a step further than merely reinforcing the idea that he is an instrument of God reliant on divine inspiration in his poetry; he argues also that he has the potential to be a God-like creative force in his own right. He believes that his poetry might have such a divine quality that he will become a figure whom the gods do not simply inspire or control, but also honour and respect. Although he is currently an apprentice poet, he wishes to be a master poet who can actually dictate to some degree the actions of the gods, and he expresses this hope directly by asking Apollo to allow him to "[his] verses warpe / As thou may play them syne vpon thy Harpe" ("Sonnet 2" lines 13-14). That is, if Apollo were to grace James by himself performing the young poet's works, James would attain a level of influential textual power. And if Apollo "may crowne [him] syne" ("Sonnet 6" line 14) with the laurel wreath and also the crown of state, James might through the poems of the *Prentise* achieve an actual poetic and political power befitting a master poet and statesman.

On a more practical level, James must convince not just the gods of his poetic prowess; in the sonnet sequence, and in the *Prentise* as a whole, he must convince his subjects of the force of his divinely ordained literary and political power. With the four prefatory sonnets in which he describes the seasons, he hopes to establish his power to write convincingly for his earthly audience so that "all may be deceaued" in believing at least momentarily that his eloquent descriptions are real ("Sonnet 4" line 14). This desire touches on what he hopes to do with the publication of the *Prentise*—amaze and impress his audience and thereby subjugate them in the face of his poetic prowess. Furthermore, James does not wish just to describe realistically Jove's "might and thundring fyre," but also to emulate in verse the power that enabled Jove to rule over humans by performing such authoritative acts as "throwing *Phaethon* downe from heauen to eard" ("Sonnet 1" line 7; line 13). Overall, James hopes that his verse will communicate to his audience the power of the divinity, a divinity whose authority he himself exercises on earth as poet and monarch.

Through both his power to write and the force of the resulting poems, for example, he wishes to intimidate his readers and thereby inspire in them a respect for his own divinely ordained power. He hopes that when his audience reads his descriptions of the sea, "they heare a stormy sound" and in their terror "lifts [sic] their hands to pray [to Neptune] for some eas" ("Sonnet 7" line 5; line 12). Similarly, he invokes "Dreidfull Pluto" to give him the power in verse to terrify his readers, so "that both they see and heare" the circumstances in Hell ("Sonnet 9" line 1; line 8). And in the next sonnet, he prefigures his 1591 "Lepanto" by appealing to Mars and Pallas-Athena, the deities of war, to imbue his verse with life-like qualities so that the readers might realise the terror of seeing "armies huge" and "men killd" ("Sonnet 10" line 5; line 12); basically, James wants his verse to engender in his readers a fear of the divine power that lies behind both his verse and his kingship. His prefatory sonnet sequence, then, outlines several things which the poet and the king each require, and which he hopes to obtain during the course of composing the volume: godly sanction as a divine instrument; an autonomous creative power; and the ability to articulate and develop his masterful authority through writing.

James takes the first step toward these goals with his translation of du Bartas's "Uranie," a translation in which he both demonstrates the progress of his poetic development and explores the kingly virtue of mediation. The preface to James's "Vranie," like the Castalians' commendatory sonnets that begin the *Prentise* volume, was written after the completion of the poem, and thus serves as a post-mortem analysis of James's purposes and accomplishments in writing the work. In the preface, James argues that he is still an apprentice poet, but one whose poetic skill is ever-increasing. He says that his "age and Fortune" have forced him to undertake a translation rather than a "free inuention" or original work of his own; that is, his inexperience and lack of "skill and learning" mean that he is not yet ready to exercise his creative force by going to work composing an original epic poem. He confesses that even as a translator, however, his versifying powers are "vnskilfull and grosse," and he is not worthy of translating any of

the "heauenly & learned works" of "the deuine and Illuster Poete, Salust du Bartas." Despite his lack of qualifications, however, he has "resolued vnaduysedly to assay the translating" of the "Uranie" ("Fauorable" 16), and he believes that as a result, the ensuing work is seriously flawed. At several points in the preface, he stresses that his "Vranie" contains linguistic errors and thus is not a "iust translation," and he states that he has included du Bartas' original text on the *verso* of the page so that the reader can engage in a dialogue with James and correctly appraise the translated text for himself. James also notes that in hindsight he can see in the translation a number of poetical flaws "whilkis ar forbidden in my owne treatise of the Art of Poesie in the hinder end of this book." In his opinion, since the "Vranie" is "replete with innumerable and intolerable faultes," it simply is "not well translated," and is the work of an apprentice poet not yet able to mediate between invention and imitation to produce a well-executed and near-divine work of his own (16-17).

Yet like the young Christopher Marlowe translating Ovid's *Elégies* while at Cambridge, if James does not demonstrate his poetic mastery with the "Vranie," he does at least show his poetic potential. Despite the self-deprecating criticisms he makes regarding his poetic and linguistic skill, in the preface he nonetheless dramatises his increasing development as a divinely inspired poet-king. James says that his desire is to "attaine to the like vertue" of du Bartas, but not possessing "the like lofty and quick ingyne" (16), he must resort to translation and engage linguistically rather than creatively with the original text. Since "translations are limitat, and restrained in some things, more then free inuentions are" (17), his resulting work is not an original and creative one that displays a literary virtuosity, but rather, a linguistic exercise that displays his literary dependence. Reliant upon the original for his source material, he has little room to improve upon du Bartas, assuming of course that he has the poetic ability to do so in the first place. But the fact that he repeatedly says that his work is not a "iust translation" expresses more than just his inaccuracy as a translator; it also hints at his subtlety as a

mediator who is beginning to explore the middle ground between blind imitation and free invention. Although he claims that he intends the text's polyglot format not "to giue prooffe of my iust translating, but by the contrair, to let appeare more plainly to the foresaid reader, wherin I haue erred" (17), the act of placing his work beside that of du Bartas actually has the opposite effect by putting him on the same literal if not literary plane as his French model. In fact, while pointing out at the end of the preface that his is not a "iust translation" of du Bartas, James takes care to note that du Bartas' text has twelve syllables per line while his own has ten "and yet translates him lyne by lyne" (17). In effect, James leaves the reader with the idea that his work is more concise than the original; if one is to judge a worker by his efficiency, James's ability to render the entire "Uranie" in less space than du Bartas does, and in full view of the reader, makes him a literary craftsman equal--and perhaps even superior--to du Bartas himself. Better able to negotiate between exact translation and creative presentation with each succeeding poem, James is *working* his way toward becoming a master of the written word.

As James's commentary on the text, then, the preface identifies the "Vranie" as a yardstick for use in measuring the poetic progress the young monarch has made in his literary and political apprenticeship. Although an early work, the text nonetheless demonstrates James's increasing skill as a controller of words: through the act of translation he is engaging intertextually with other authors; he is negotiating the middle ground between imitation and invention and thus developing into a creative figure not as restricted by convention as he formerly was; he is exploring his literary and monarchical role as mediator between author and reader, and ultimately, between God and humans; he is becoming a skilled poet in his own right who in translating the work of the Huguenot soldier-poet du Bartas makes a statement of his own religious autonomy. Through their medium and overall execution, the "Vranie" and its preface portray James as a monarch who is exploring his mediating and ordering poetical and political power, and thus moving beyond the preliminary stages of his apprenticeship as poet and king.

In the content of the work itself, James clearly links his poetic apprenticeship with his political one in order to dramatise the development of his monarchical authority. Although he claims that he has chosen to translate du Bartas' "Uranie" because it is "the easiest and shortest of all his difficile, and prolixed Poems" ("Fauorable" 16), he probably has chosen to translate this work in particular because its general content—a lecture on the practice of poetry given by Urania, muse of astronomy—is ideologically significant in that it examines the political power of poetry. Since it draws a parallel between poetic undertaking and an apprenticeship in the monarchical qualities of divinity, mediation, and order, the text verified and even shaped James's view of the poet-monarch. At its beginning, for example, the poem outlines du Bartas'—and thus James's—current inexperienced and unfocused existence as a poet:

Scarce was I yet in springtyme of my years,
When greening great for fame about my pears,
Did make me lose my wonted chere and rest,

Essayng learned works with curious brest. ("Vranie" lines 1-4)

Seeking fame by "essayng," or reading, imitating, and translating the works of others, James is merely a derivative poet unable to exhibit any poetic agency of his own. As a masterless poet, he will continue to work in vain, but by contrast, "as a prentise fairer works will make" (lines 91-2). Like Homer, the narrator must serve an apprenticeship as a "songster" before becoming a skilled poet who can compose great works on his own and "lacking master" (lines 93-4). Not realising the necessity of a proper poetic apprenticeship, James is "in doubt what way to go" as a poet, and remains a locus of unfocused energy until the muse Urania appears to him and urges him to sing of "Gods immortals [sic] honour" (line 29; line 66). On an allegorical level, the poem's beginning characterises James during the "King Cupid" period of his poetic enterprise as a studious but misdirected poetic apprentice who requires the guidance of Urania, muse of astronomy—or perhaps of the Castalian poets—to give purpose and divine power to his

verse. Telling James that a poet must avoid "Venus, and her fethred chylde" and "cast of that insolent archer quyte" (line 230; line 290), Urania tells him that he must move from being a passive, *controlled* poet to being an active, *controlling* one.

She urges him to effect this transition because poetry is intimately intertwined with monarchical politics, and uses a conventional symbol of royal authority to illustrate this:

For as into the wax the seals imprent
Is lyke a seale, right so the Poet gent,
Doeth graue to viue in vs his passions strange,
As maks the reader, halfe in author change. (lines 153-6)

According to Urania, poetic and monarchical authority have a common inspiration and function: the necessity of and ability to influence the words and deeds of others. Like the royal seal that authorises a text by leaving upon it the tangible mark of kingship, the written royal text leaves an impression of the king upon the interpreting and malleable reader, and is thus a lasting testament to the monarch's authority over others. Although du Bartas may not have intended this comparison to emphasise the intimate connection between poetry and monarchical authority, James undoubtedly interpreted it as a formulation of the means by which the written word both created and was at the same time invested with monarchical power. Able to exploit the means by which poetry shapes and stamps the thought of others, through the written text the poet-king will be able to develop his "passions strange" into ideologies of his divinely ordained power, articulate these ideologies to his subjects in an effort to make sense of the complicated political world, and enforce them as a means of maintaining that monarchical order. Urania tells the narrator that if he could hone his skills as a poet, "great men of their counsell wolde you make" (line 184); in James's case, if he can master the written text, his poetic utterances will allow him to set a seal upon the thoughts of others, and will thus accord him political power.

The attainment of political power through writing is not as overt and direct a process as the seal metaphor might suggest, however. Urania continues her instruction of the apprentice poet-king by informing him that poetry has a subtle and intangible power over its readers:

For verses force is sic, that softly slydes.

Throw secret poris, and in our sences bydes,

As makes them haue both good and euill imprented. (lines 157-9)

This statement is important in shaping James's conception of literature's power in two ways. For one thing, it argues that depending upon the author's intent, a work can influence its reader either for good or for evil. A monarch, then, must be careful to control the word by sanctioning and patronising "good" works while at the same time censuring others for their insidious power to incite others to evil. Urania's statement argues also that texts have the ability to influence people through subtle means, since the connection between poetic utterance and effect is not always immediately evident or easily decipherable. Since they "softly slyde" into the reader "throw secret poris," words—and the very media in which they exist—subtly communicate various ideologies to the reader.

Urania devotes much of her lecture to outlining to the apprentice poet the means by which these subtle aspects of poetry work to convey ideologies of order, divinity, and even authority. For example, she tells the narrator that "the harmony of nomber tone and song, / That makes the verse so fair, . . . is so strong / Ouer vs" (lines 149-51), making the point that as a well-ordered and harmonious work, a poem can impart to the reader a sense of the divine order of things and thus act as an affirmation of divine-right rule. Such a lesson from the muse of astronomy—the science of determining the hidden order of the universe—probably was not lost on a young monarch so concerned with divine order. Nor was Urania's paradoxical statement that "all art is learned by art, this art alone / It is a heauenly gift" (lines 85-6). Here, she argues that art—and in particular

poetry--has the potential to teach the apprentice poet-king a variety of other necessary "arts" and skills. In her opinion, poetry provides an entryway into the ideologies of divine sanction and mediation, ideologies which for James are at the root of kingship. By saying that the art of poetry is "a heauenly gift," Urania characterises it as a divinely inspired and sanctioned practice reserved for "men of special chose" (line 89), like kingship which in James's belief can be practised only by those anointed by God through hereditary succession. Just as the poet is quite literally God's inspired instrument since he is "lyke the pype alway, / Who full doth sound, and empty staves to play" (lines 125-6), in divine-right monarchical theory a king is a specially chosen vessel infused with God's breath, and through which God performs His will on earth.

Urania goes on to outline another skill that poetry both requires and develops in the apprentice: the ability to "joyne night to day, and day to night obscure" (line 110). That is, a poet must be a mediator on several levels: between opposite ideas; between God and humans; and, acting as a translator, between author and audience and between restriction and creativity. Similarly, a monarch must mediate between different factions, remaining above party and at the same time functioning as an intermediary between God and His subjects on earth. Significantly, Urania tells the apprentice poet that poetry is "a learning seat" (line 218) in which to explore the ideas of order, divinity, and mediation; for James, it is a place to practise a craft which will facilitate his attainment and practice of monarchical power.

James's translation of du Bartas' "Uranie," then, dramatises a specific point in his literary and political apprenticeship as served in the *Prentise*. As a metapoem, the "Vranie" consciously draws attention to James's progress as a developing poet and monarch, and outlines the process by which his poetic enterprise assists his political one. The fact that the work is a translation rather than an original work is a statement of James's level of poetic achievement; he is not yet an autonomous and creative master poet, and thus is not capable of composing a lengthy work of his own. In fact, as an

apprentice poet, he must still learn lessons from others, in particular Urania, who gives him valuable advice regarding the potential political power of the written word. Through the content of the work—Urania's meditation on the divine, ordering, and mediating force of the poet—James explains *why* he writes: because poetry is a "learning seat" in which he can explore the literary and political power of the poet-king. Having begun to realise his poetic potential by engaging with and translating a work by the "deuine and Illuster" du Bartas ("Fauorable" 17), with the "Vranie" James links his increasing ability as a divinely inspired and mediating poet to his growing political agency.

By the time he has completed roughly half of the *Prentise* volume, then, James has begun to make the transition from apprentice to master poet and statesman, or at least journeyman. His awkward Alexandrine verse and lyric preparatory poems for the most part behind him, as a developing internationalist poet he has now completed a more ambitious and successful work than before by translating the "deuine and Illuster" poet du Bartas. Through his active patronage of others' work, he has begun to exert control over the literary realm, and although he does not yet have complete creative control over his own verse, through his poetic work he is learning valuable lessons in textual presentation and execution, mediation, and divine order that will apply to his kingship. By becoming a sort of Scottish du Bartas through his translation of the "Uranie," he is moving from an unqualified state toward a qualified one as both poet and monarch. In the latter half of the *Prentise*, however, he will become more than a translator; by composing his own original works and even by outlining a set of uniquely Scottish poetic principles, he will demonstrate that he is a creative and defining figure both poetically and politically. Like the soldier-poet and theorist George Gascoigne who "defends the propriety of the English language as a vehicle for poetry" in his 1575 *Certayne Notes of Instruction in English Verse* (Johnson 75), by the end of the *Prentise* James will be not merely a poet, but also a teacher, adjudicator, and legislator of poets. By writing in the Scots vernacular, he will make a nationalistic and therefore monarchical statement of his

worth as poet and critic. His Scots poetry will ultimately lay the groundwork for his vernacular political treatises of the 1590s that will position him as a Scottish Renaissance vernacular political theorist comparable to Sir Thomas Elyot, who in writing the 1531 *Boke Named the Governour* authored what Paul Elmer More calls "the very Magna Carta" of English political theory and education (55). Upon completing the *Prentise* with an eye to his Scottish kingship but also to his all but assured English one, James will define and consolidate his rule of Scotland and at the same time look forward with an internationalist monarch's confidence to ruling what he calls "this yle of *Brittain*" ("Fauorable" 16).

Notes.

¹This quotation comes from the title of James's first book of verse, *The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie*.

²When examining the interaction between James and the poets with whom he has traditionally been associated, one must keep in mind that the "Castalian band" may not have been as coherent a group as Helena Mennie Shire believes it to have been. In her recent article entitled "James VI's Castalian Band: A Modern Myth" (*Scottish Historical Review* 80 (2001): 251-59), Priscilla Bawcutt argues that the existence of the highly organised Castalian band of poets is a recent fiction propagated for the most part by "the attractive but fanciful conjectures of Mrs Helena Shire" (253). Bawcutt maintains that "like many popular myths this one has no historical justification, but has won uncritical acceptance because it tells a story that is gratifying to its hearers" (258). The truth lies somewhere between Shire and Bawcutt's diametrically opposed views: James operated within a loosely organised group of court poets who probably did not actually call themselves the "Castalian band" but whose influence upon the king was undeniable.

³Priscilla Bawcutt argues that James's rehabilitation of the term "band" is nothing more than "ingenious speculation" on Shire's part (256). Regardless of whether or not he deliberately rehabilitated the term, however, James certainly found his circle of poets in the 1580s to be a group whose conjunction of literary and political affairs was not inconsistent with his own.

Chapter 5. "King of Scottes, and Prince of Poets in His Language"¹: James VI from
Poetic Journeyman to Political Master

At two points during the course of his 1584 *The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie*, James VI addresses the reader directly and draws a conscious distinction between the works in the early part of the volume and those in the "hinder end" of the book ("Fauorable" 17; "Preface" 68). This distinction is a significant one, for it demonstrates that although the *Prentise* is a one-volume text, James considers it to consist of—and intends the reader to interpret it in terms of—two discrete but related parts. Overall, the volume progresses in a unified thematic manner, for it documents James's transition from poetic apprentice to master; in chronicling such a transition, however, the volume is not static, but displays a dramatic change from beginning to end that allows James to differentiate between the two halves. Politically, the watershed in James's Scottish rule occurred with the "Ruthven Raid," for after his escape and the death in exile of his cousin and favourite Esmé Stuart, James demonstrated a new political resolve and took firmer political and religious control of Scotland than before with the May 1584 "Black Acts." In a poetic sense as well the "Ruthven Raid" marked a turning point in his rule, for within a year of his escape, as the "royal Apollo" he began to control the court system of literary patronage, and published the *Prentise* as a means of exploring and asserting his growing textual authority. It is fitting, then, that the watershed in the *Prentise* volume itself is the poem "Ane Metaphoricall Invention of a Tragedie called Phoenix," James's allegorical treatment of the "Ruthven Raid" and the death of Esmé Stuart. While the first half of the volume portrays James as literary apprentice, the second half of the text, beginning with the "Phoenix" and continuing through to "Ane Schort Treatise, Containing some Revlis and Cautelis to be observit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie," begins to document his increasing literary mastery. Continuing with the

1591 *His Majesties Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres*, and in particular his poem "Lepanto," a work that du Bartas himself translated, James demonstrates that by the early 1590s, he has established himself as a poetic master. By chronicling, dramatising, and even playing an active role in establishing James's poetic growth, the two volumes of verse help to define him as a monarch whose kingship is intimately entwined with his ability to control the written text.

If the "Vranie" demonstrates that James is a novice poet just beginning to undertake more complicated literary compositions, the next poem in the volume, "Ane Metaphoricall Invention of a Tragedie called Phoenix," marks the next stage in James's increasing control over his poetics and politics. Generically, symbolically, and in terms of content, the "Phoenix" makes several statements of James's poetic autonomy not present in first half of the volume. Unlike the "Vranie," the "Phoenix" is not a translation, but is rather what James calls in the title an "invention," or original composition. Although the act of translation allows him to explore the middle ground between imitation and invention, since it is a more "imitat" and "restraind" exercise than that of composing his own works (James VI and I, "Fauorable" 17), it does not afford him the same opportunity to test and exercise his creative powers. Of course, his original composition is nonetheless intertextually reliant upon other works, for in composing the work, he draws upon the well-known myth of the phoenix, and takes pains to point out near the end of the *Prentise* volume that he has relied heavily upon Pliny "& dyuers vthers" ("Insert" 96) in writing the text. An intertextually developed work that is also a creative product of James's own mind, the "Phoenix" demonstrates that as an apprentice poet James is no longer so dependent on others such as du Bartas for the form and subject matter of his texts, and is beginning to make his own way in the literary world.

For James, poetics mirrors politics since, as the work's allegorical content demonstrates, he is also beginning to make his own way in the political world. Although the phoenix in the poem is female, when in the title James calls the text a "metaphoricall

invention," he hints that a literal reading of the mythical creature's gender is not necessary. In fact, in the two virtually identical poems that preface the larger work, James quite clearly tells the reader that the metaphorical phoenix is his disgraced but beloved male cousin and favourite, Esmé Stuart, Seigneur D'Aubigny and Duke of Lennox. The first poem, which he titles "A Colomne of 18 lynes seruing for a Preface to the Tragedie ensuing," is a tightly ordered altar-shaped verse that predates George Herbert's famous poem "The Altar" by at least three decades. Structured like an altar, James's prefatory poem serves several introductory purposes: it demonstrates that he is developing into a poet with greater powers of organisation and creativity than before; it hints that the "tragedie" deals with a sacrificial death; and finally, it draws attention to the altar upon which the phoenix builds its nest and sets itself ablaze.

Turning to the second prefatory poem with the idea of the altar in mind, the reader immediately sees that the poem is exactly as James titles it—"The expansion of the former Colomne." The text, in which the narrator "lament[s] with tearis / [his] murnefull yearis" ("Expansion" lines 2-3), copies that of the first poem word for word. James has reworked the poem's shape on the page, however, for the poem now is an acrostic in which the first letters—and even the last ones—of each line spell out the phrase "ESME STEWART DVIKE." By forging the poem into a new shape, James the apprentice poet showcases his growing creative and organisational powers, but in addition, he ensures that "Esmé Stewart, Duke" permeates the text on both a visual and an allegorical level. Associated with the phoenix's altar in the prefatory companion poems, Esmé becomes a symbol of James's monarchical autonomy. Since Esmé is the subject matter of the poem, and since at the end of the poem Apollo helps the Phoenix "mount heigh vp through the air" ("Phoenix" line 267), the poem is a pointed statement of James's political independence, for one of the acts of the "Ruthven Raiders" in 1582 had been to force James to exile Esmé to France, where the French nobleman later died. With the "Phoenix," James effectively reasserts power over his former captors; although Esmé has

died in forced exile, James can reclaim some degree of political agency by writing a poem that through both its general content and its repetition as a work of art brings Esmé—and James's kingship—back to life.

Although in the two prefatory poems to the "Phoenix" James demonstrates his development as a creative poet and autonomous monarch, in the text of the "Phoenix" itself he explores and outlines more specifically how reading, writing, and discipline have helped him make the transition from minority monarch to empowered ruler. After the brightly coloured phoenix comes to Scotland—just as in the autumn of 1579 the flamboyant Frenchman Esmé Stuart arrived at the Scottish court—"none [can] gess what sort / Of foule she was, nor from what countrey cum" (lines 78-9). Unlike his countrymen, however, the learned narrator is aware "that she [is] sum / Rare stranger foule," and in fact, he realises "that her nature, [does] resemble neir / To that of *Phoenix* which [he] red" (lines 81-6). The narrator's learning enables him to "call to minde" (line 85) that which exists outside the knowledge of ordinary men and thus gain access to the phoenix; likewise, James's classical training, when coupled with the creative and ordered act of writing the poem itself, allows him to explore for himself and outline for the reader the divine and life-transforming politics of the immortal mythological bird.

Having gained access to the near-divine phoenix through his learning, the narrator (who at the end of the poem compares himself to Apollo, James's poetic analogue) begins to exercise his powers of control over it. Not used to the cold climate of Scotland, the phoenix seeks shelter in a house "which from the storms might saue her as an sheild" (lines 74-5), a thinly veiled reference to the Catholic church of which Esmé was a member, and in which he sought shelter from what he found to be the rather cold Presbyterian religious climate of Scotland. Using kind words and his conciliatory skills, the narrator is able to tame the phoenix and bring her out of her sheltering house (lines 76-7). Likewise, James was able to convince Esmé to convert to Protestantism before his death. Nonetheless, despite her willingness to enter the narrator's world, the phoenix is

persecuted by native "rauening fowls" who out of jealousy attempt to "worke her vnderued fall" (lines 141-2):

They made her as a commoun prey
 To them, of whome shee looked for no deare,
 They strake at her so bitterly, whill feare
 Stayde other fowlis to preis for to defend her

From thir ingrate, whilks now had clene miskend her. (lines 157-61)

Since the tolerant and learned narrator has not "miskend" the phoenix as have the ravening contemporary fowls, the phoenix appeals to him "to iudge / The wrong they did her," and in a manner reminiscent of Esmé Stuart's apparent sexual relationship with James that furthered his advancement at court, finds refuge, as the narrator says, "betuix my leggs" (164-6).

But just as the imprisoned James ultimately was unable to protect Esmé from the "Ruthven Raiders" who drove the French favourite into exile, the narrator too is unable completely to control the phoenix's enemies, and in fact falls victim to them himself. They physically attack him in order to get at the phoenix (lines 169-72), and like Esmé, the phoenix is driven "bak againe, / Where fra she came" (lines 204-5). The narrator sends abroad for news of the exiled bird's fate, and is aggrieved to learn that the phoenix is dead, having "brunt her nest, her fethers, bones and skin / All turnd in ash" (lines 184-9; lines 221-2). Although the phoenix has died in exile, however, she has left as an heir "one of her race / Ane worme bred out of her ashe" (lines 256-7) who will take her place in the world—an allegorical reference to Esmé's son Ludovic Stuart, who upon his father's death in exile in France became 2nd Duke of Lennox and eventually came to Scotland as his father had done. For the narrator, the exile and death of the bird "whose name doeth end in X" (line 262)—"X" being a variation on the cross as redemptive symbol of Christ—is contradictory. Although the phoenix has died and left him with an inexpressible grief, she has given him "tragelie a comike end" both by leaving a successor

and by allowing him to give her "a longer lyfe" through the writing of the poem which revives her with each reading (line 275; line 280). Similarly, although the exile and death of Esmé Stuart (the Duke of Lennox, whose name also ends in 'X') has shown James's lack of authority as king, the ascendancy of Ludovic Stuart and the opportunity of retelling Esmé's story in the face of his enemies rejuvenate his kingship by demonstrating his increasing ability to exercise over his subjects his powers of textual creation, suggestion, and control.

It is fitting that James wrote the "Phoenix" in a stanza form that he later in the *Prentise* calls "rhyme-royal," for after the "Ruthven Raid" and the exile of Esmé, "the scrambling humiliations of [James's] minority produced as reaction a fervent faith in absolute monarchy" (A. Mackenzie 150), a faith which the poem expresses in several ways. On the most basic level, since it is an intertextually informed but original work and not a translation, the "Phoenix" is a statement of James's increasing ability as poetic and even political creator and engager. In the tightly shaped companion poems that preface the larger work, James presents the same material in alternative ways, further demonstrating his growing textual mastery while at the same time revealing the phoenix's allegorical identity. The very fact that the poem deals allegorically with the death of Esmé Stuart is a strong statement of James's new-found political autonomy, for in lamenting Esmé's death but reviving him in a literary mode through the poem itself, James demonstrates that in the post-Ruthven period, his ability to control the text contributes to his increasing ability to manage his own affairs and subjects as king. Written after his escape from the "Ruthven Raiders" and at a time when he was beginning to forge a new poetic and political identity for himself after a period of vulnerability, the "Phoenix" dramatises more than just the death and resurrection of Esmé Stuart; it also chronicles and helps to effect the resurrection of James's kingship itself, a kingship risen out of the ashes of the "Ruthven Raid" through the text into something more powerful than before.

James's next poem in the *Prentise* is not an original composition, but it does mark a further stage in his growth as a poet, for in both its medium and its content, it represents a more daring work than his earlier translation of du Bartas. Thomas McCrie argues that this short poem which James titles "A Paraphrasticall Translation Ovt of the Poete Lvcanē" is an attempt "to convey James's high notions of royal power" (1: 261n). The general form of the poem—an expansion of five lines of the fifth book of Lucan's *Pharsalia*—certainly lends credence to McCrie's assessment that the text is an exploration and statement of the authority of kings, and of James in particular. As he does with his translation of du Bartas's "Uranie" earlier in the *Prentise* volume, James places his work side by side with the original text, and by prefacing his own text with the original, allows the reader to make comparisons between the two. The very fact that James's own work appears immediately after Lucan's suggests a hierarchical relationship in which James is only slightly below Lucan, who was Seneca's nephew and a classical military authority. By the time he writes his "Paraphrasticall Translation," James considers himself not simply an equal to du Bartas, but a near-equal and heir to the scholars and poets of antiquity.

By placing his "Vranie" in dialogue with du Bartas' original, James tries to show the reader how accurately he can translate a work. By placing his translation of Lucan immediately after the original, however, he emphasises another aspect of his skill as poet: his ability to extrapolate and expand creatively upon a chosen text. Rather than translating Lucan's work *verbatim* as he does du Bartas' text, James instead deliberately expands it from five to forty lines in a loose rendering that is best described by the title as a "paraphrasticall translation." Part translation and part paraphrase, James's text is a reworking or extrapolation rather than a literal rendering or rhetorical amplification of the five lines of the *Pharsalia*. James does not translate so much as interpret or re-create the original, and in appropriating and expanding creatively upon the classical text, he strikes an even more delicate balance than before between imitation and invention. Not

merely a slave to imitation, he is developing a creative voice of his own while still engaging intertextually with others. He moves beyond literal translation, reworks the classics, and interprets as he translates, investing more of himself in the translation than ever before. Through the hybrid medium of his "paraphrasticall translation," then, James explores his mediating, ordering, and creative powers as author, and in doing so, begins to define himself as a mediating and creative monarch with a vested interest in the text.

Since James expands greatly upon Lucan's original five lines, he invariably adds content of his own to complement Lucan's text, and in doing so begins to explore and define his theory of divine-right monarchy. In the original text, Lucan argues a particular point regarding the relationship between rivers and the sea: should the rivers fail to serve the sea and instead deprive it of their tributary waters, they will harm only themselves because through the processes of evaporation and rain, the sea is ultimately their source. In his "paraphrasticall translation," James engages with Lucan by expanding upon the classical poet's argument to liken the distribution of moisture on the earth to the distribution of a political power that is "so euen siclike" (line 25). He argues that should subjects "rebell against their Prince and King / By leauing him" in order to "help their need, and make them thereby gaine," they will harm only themselves through their failure to serve him since "lacke of them no harme to him doth bring" (lines 26-7; line 30; line 31). Since the monarch, like the sea in nature, is the source of all and the fountain of patronage, James urges his subjects to serve themselves by following rather than disrupting the natural order:

Then *Floods* runne on your wounted course of old,
Which God by Nature dewly hes prouyded:
For though ye stay, as I before haue tolde,
And cast in doubt which God hath else decyded." (lines 33-6)

By culminating his expanded translation of Lucan's work with such a prescription, James begins to demonstrate his poetic and political maturity: he has subtly mediated between

imitation and invention by engaging with other authors while at the same time exploring his own creative power; he has proven himself to be a translator and scholar qualified to rework classic Latin literature; and most importantly, through his reading and writing he has begun to develop and articulate a theory of his divinely ordained and inviolable authority as monarch.

After dramatising his growth as a poet and king throughout the first part of the *Prentise* volume, "in the hinder end of this booke" (James VI and I, "Fauorable" 17) James includes a work which indicates that by the end of the volume he has very nearly served out his poetic apprenticeship: a scholarly prose piece entitled "Ane Schort Treatise, Containing some Revlis and Cautelis to be observit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie." Helena Mennie Shire argues that since this work outlines a set of poetic principles, it is "the manifesto of the new poetry of Renaissance Scotland" (*Song* 98). Even more, however, the "Revlis" is "a handbook of poetic technique intended to help the aspiring poet achieve correctness in verse composition" (Craigie, Introduction 1: xxviii); it is the manifesto of the developing king of Scotland, a trade manual for apprentices in wordcraft written by a king who "in poetry as in politics . . . would appear to be making a way of his own" (Shire, *Song* 95). By setting out a number of specific rules to be followed by aspiring poets, James demonstrates his confidence that by the end of the *Prentise*, as the title of the work indicates, he is close to being a master poet who can instruct apprentices in the rules and restrictions of writing verse. And the rules which he delineates throughout the treatise—prescriptions for rhyme, prosody, ornamentation, and translation—demonstrate a belief in his ability to place order upon the poetic realm through what Shire calls an act of "poetic lawgiving" (*Song* 99). This sense of order parallels or even prefigures his authority as monarch. In taking charge of the realm poetically by presenting himself as a literary authority to be respected and followed, with the "Revlis" James also takes charge of the realm politically by voicing himself as an engaging, mediating, and authoritative textual monarch.

In the work's very title James immediately makes a statement of his poetic and therefore political power and mastery. Unlike his earlier translations of du Bartas and Lucan, the "Revlis" is an original work; unlike the "Phoenix," however, it is not a "free invention" or fictional work based on mythology and allegory. Rather, it is what he calls a "treatise" or scholarly work that outlines the rudiments of poetic theory and practice. In particular, the text delineates the "revlis" or rules to be followed, and the "cautelis" or techniques to be avoided in the composition of poetry. Interestingly, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* one of the earliest written uses of the word "cautel" to mean device or stratagem occurs in Sir Thomas Elyot's 1531 *The Boke named the Governour*, a monarchical handbook that James himself owned by the early 1580s (Warner lxvi). Although James may not have been thinking specifically of Elyot's work when he composed the "Revlis," his linguistic echo of one of the best-known early uses of the term "cautel" is more than a coincidence; it demonstrates that he may have engaged with and internalised Elyot as he absorbed the English culture of governance, and in doing so made an implicit connection between the exercise of literary and political strategies. Moreover, another aspect of the title emphasises James's identity as a literary authority. With the title, James does not suggest alternative techniques in writing, but instead prescribes specific ones "to be obseruit" and others to be "eschewit." Basically, in no uncertain terms, he demonstrates in the title that he is in a position to outline the "do's and don'ts" of poetic composition in the text proper. The apprentice poet has become a master, or at least a journeyman, and is now qualified to teach others his craft.

In a short poem entitled "A Qvadrain of Alexandrin Verse, declaring to qvhome the Author hes directit his labour," and which introduces the larger text, James further indicates his position as author with respect to the reader. To begin, he states that he does not intend his text for "ignorants obdurde" who choose to lie in "wilfull error" ("Directit" line 1), disqualifying those persons who through their stubbornness have no desire to entertain constructive criticism and embark on the correct poetic path.

Similarly, he writes that he does not intend his work for "curious folks" who are "delected" by theoretical discussion (line 2). Instead, he aims his work at those who take poetry as seriously as he does. He does not, however, consider "learned men, quha thinks thame onelie wyis" (line 3) to be his target audience. Rather, he aims his text at scholars who are willing to engage constructively with it. He closes the quatrain by identifying his ideal audience as "the docile bairns of knowledge" (line 4), literary "children" who have an abiding curiosity about poetic composition, and who are "docile" or malleable enough to engage with and absorb criticism and discipline. James believes he has reached the point where he is a poetic instructor, and readers no longer simply judge but also engage with and learn from his works. Though only about eighteen years old, he considers himself to be developing into a master poet and patriarch: a figure who engages in a literary dialogue with his inquisitive but ultimately submissive readers in a manner similar to that in which the monarch as *pater patriae* engages in a political dialogue with his respectfully critical subjects.

In the prose preface to the treatise, James further explores his identity as a textual and political authority committed to dialogue, mediation, and order. For example, he continues to use the patriarchal language that he has introduced in the quatrain and will ultimately use to best effect in his 1598 *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*. In the first line of the preface, he directly addresses the "docile Reader" ("Preface" 67) in order to emphasise his audience's role as teachable subject. In his opinion, the prospective poet must learn to balance the opposing forces of "a beginning of Nature" with poetic "preceptis" (68); that is, within a personal nature/nurture debate, the "docile reader" must moderate his natural creative impulse as James does and submit at least partially to the strictures of poetic form. Having learned through his apprenticeship writings that "gif Nature be cheif, and bent to it, reulis will be ane help and staff to Nature" (68), James believes that as mediator and engager, he is qualified to teach these principles to the reader, and even to apply them to his practice of kingship.

As the introduction to a vernacular text whose general purpose is to advocate the creation of a unique Scottish national poetry, James's preface makes another statement of his poetic and political autonomy. By promoting the writing of poetry in the Scottish vernacular rather than in Latin or Greek, he repudiates the teachings of his tutor, the classicist George Buchanan. Buchanan advocated the use of the classical languages instead of the vernacular, and in keeping with this practice had—in James's words—taught him to “speik latin ar I could speik Scotis” (“Apopthegmata” lxxii). James's promotion of vernacular poetry, then, represents a deliberate expression of his personal independence from Buchanan and his teachings on constitutional monarchy, as well as a declaration of his national independence as monarch from the influence of any foreign political or religious figures. With the writing of the “Revlis,” James exercises his nationalist prerogative and completes the poetical and political apprenticeship that he began under Buchanan, positioning himself as an authority qualified to craft rules of engagement unique to Scottish monarchical culture and politics. In his opinion, because of the ideas of men such as Buchanan, the art of writing Scottish vernacular poetry has long remained “bot in the infancie and chyldeheid,” and has “come to mannis age and perfectioun” (“Preface” 67) only through the efforts of him and his Castalian band. Believing himself and his work to have reached an artistic maturity in nationalist terms, he feels a need—and even a duty—to document the perfected state of Scottish poetry and thereby establish his literary and political autonomy. His attempt to do this by writing the “Revlis” is both a testament to his belief that he is becoming a master vernacular poet capable of instructing others in his craft, and a demonstration that he is a developing author of the political realm.

Although he considers himself a more autonomous poet and monarch than before, however, James does not deny the importance of engagement with other texts. Maurice Lindsay argues that in writing the “Revlis” James was influenced by numerous European poetic treatises, as well as George Gascoigne's 1575 *Certayne Notes of Instruction in*

English Verse (103). Ronald Jack supports this assessment by stating that James's text is "a late Scottish addition to the European treatises urging vernacular poets to break finally the bonds of classicism" (*Italian* 54). James perceived his work as an addition to—or perhaps more accurately, an engagement with—previous texts, for in the preface he in fact states that "sindrie hes written of" the rules of poetic composition. The differences between his text and those of "thame that hes written in it of late," however, are many. James's work, although reliant on Gascoigne, actually discusses several concepts—repetition, polysyllabic rhyme, comparison, and the role of invention in translation, for example—that Gascoigne does not address. In addition, James's text is the first instruction manual "written in our language"—that is, in Scots rather than in any other European language, either classical or contemporary (James VI and I, "Preface" 67). Just as Gascoigne's work by its very existence is a statement of English literary ascendancy, by being the first book in Scots about Scottish poetry, the "Revlis" represents an assertion of Scottish cultural maturity as well as a declaration of James's authorial and monarchical independence. In the preface, James notes that he has not dedicated the "Revlis" to anyone in particular (67), and in doing so implies that he is an autonomous writer indebted to no one. But by consciously taking a leading place among "sindrie vtheris, quha hes written in this airt" (68), he also demonstrates that his poetical and linguistic order—and by implication his text-based monarchical one—is an intertextual construct reliant upon his engagement with and expansion of the work of his literary and academic equals.

Before he begins the text proper, James ensures that the reader sees the significance of the "Revlis" as an exploration and articulation of his divine, mediating, engaging, and judgemental power as author. He does this with two prefatory sonnets, one addressed to the reader, and the other outlining what he considers to be the qualities of the perfect poet. In their very form, the sonnets are statements of order and literary prowess, for as tightly constructed poems adhering to a rigid structure, they are testaments to the author's

overall textual control. In addition, the Spenserian rhyme scheme in which James writes the sonnets—not an original Jacobean device—signals his ability to engage with and draw upon other authors in his own writing. The specific content of the two sonnets, however, articulates more clearly James's qualities as a developing author and theorist. In the first one, entitled "Sonnet of the Avthovr to the Reader," James allies himself directly with the Gods to demonstrate to the reader his divine inspiration:

Sen for zour saik I wryte vpon zour airt,
 Apollo, Pan, and ze o Musis nyne,
 And thou, o Mercure, for to help thy pairt,
 I do implore. (lines 1-4)

Next, he uses an example from nature to portray himself as a figure willing to engage not just with the gods, but also with his readers in a constructive dialogue. He argues that just as it is common for "auld birds to learne by teiching" their young (line 11), he too learns as he teaches his literary students. Despite his divinely inspired literary ascendancy, he is open to the opinions of readers, and uses them as a sounding-board upon which to test his own ideas. This theory of engagement with his literary subjects would govern James's dealings with his political ones, particularly the Melvilles, throughout the 1580s and 1590s.

But although he takes pains in the first sonnet to represent himself as a figure whose literary authority stems in part from his commitment to dialogue, the second sonnet, entitled "Sonnet Decifring the Perfyte Poete," states more directly that his literary authority derives from his ability to acquire a certain set of skills and recognise its presence in others. James delineates a specific list of the skills that make the perfect poet: "ane rype ingyne, and quick and walkned witt" (line 1); "skilfulness, where learning may be spyit" (line 4); "pithie wordis" (line 5); "memorie to keip quhat he dois reid" (line 8); and a knowledge of rhetoric (line 10). At the end of the poem, he asks the gods to grant that he "may obtaine the Laurell trie" (line 14). But the significance of his list is

clear: over the course of the *Prentise* volume leading up to the "Revlis," he has acquired these "perfyte" skills and become a master poet worthy of the laurel crown, and by implication, the crown of state. And yet James is not simply a master poet. By "deciphiring the perfyte poete," he demonstrates that he can recognise, evaluate, and even prescribe "perfection" in others. By portraying himself as an author and critic qualified to judge men and their works in the literary realm, he forges a literary identity for himself as a modern-day Solomon able to judge men in the political world. Believing himself to be inspired by the gods and sanctioned by them to exercise a mediating but prescriptive literary authority over others, he uses the prefatory sonnet—and the "Revlis" itself—as a means of subtly linking his divinely ordained political power to his abilities as a poet and critic.

In the actual text of the "Revlis," James explores in more detail how his prescriptive powers as author and critic help to define his monarchical authority. For example, he outlines a set of rules for the translation of other texts, and in so doing explores his function as a literary and political mediator in relation to his subjects. He states that "*sen Inuention*, is ane of the cheif vertewis in a Poete," the prospective author should choose "not to compose of sene subiectis," or at least those that have "bene ower oft vsit of before" (78-9). Creativity or invention is "ane of the cheif vertewis in a Poete," James argues, but not the sole one. Rather, a literary translation, when properly executed, provides the ideal medium in which a poet can balance creativity and restriction. Finding the middle ground between slavish imitation and "free invention," the translator exercises his abilities both to create and to subscribe to a poetic order:

Especially, translating any thing out of vther language, quhilk doing, ze not only essay not zour awin ingyne of Inuentioun, bot be the same meanes, ze are bound, as to a staik, to follow that buikis phrasis, quhilk ze translate. (79)

By advocating what Ronald Jack paradoxically calls "free translations" (*Italian* 57), James encourages the reader to find the middle ground in poetry between the assertion of

individuality and the submission to authority. Only by striking this balance can the reader function productively within the political order. Similarly, like the experienced and divinely inspired translator of a text, the monarch functions as a mediator, translating the Word and will of God for his subjects on earth, and ruling as a divinely ordained intermediary between heaven and earth who reconciles his own will with that of his ruler, God. To James, mindless translations and undisciplined compositions identify apprentices, but skilful translations define ideal subjects and masterful monarchs.

In James's opinion, the proper relationship between monarch and subject is one in which the subject adheres to the dicta of the monarch. In the remainder of the "Revlis" he explores this relationship by outlining an analogous set of literary precepts that he intends his literary subjects to follow. Believing that "regularity in verse is also a version of social decorum" (Goldberg 19), he delineates these precepts for his model subjects, the Castalian poets, as well as for the rest of his subjects. His very ability to direct the verse of others is a general statement of his political power, but even the specific rules that he proposes articulate his authority. Early in the text, for example, he sets out rules for rhyme and metre that reflect a divine harmony and order. He argues that a poet should "ryme nocht twyse in ane syllabe" to avoid unoriginal exact rhymes such as "prove" and "reprove." He continues by recommending that the "first or hinmest word in the lyne, exceed not twa or thre syllabis at the maist" in order to maintain a strong rhythm and allow for a diversity of potential rhymes. Of course, as with his political dicta, there is always room for negotiation; if "necessity compell" the poet to break the rules on occasion, the transgression is an acceptable one ("Revlis" 70-1). Regarding "flowing," or metre, James recommends that in each line a poet use iambic feet and an even number of syllables, but notes that lines containing an odd number of syllables are to some degree acceptable since they "are out of reul and daylie inuentit be dyuers Poetis." Ultimately, he says, "zour eare man be the onely iudge and discerner" of metrical propriety since the majority of poems are to be sung to music (71-2). He argues also that in order to

accommodate a pause in the music, one must place a "section" or caesura in the middle of a line after an even-numbered, "lang" syllable (72-3). Just as rhyme and rhythm form two "ideals of regularity" for James (Craigie, Introduction 1: xxii), he considers music to be a poem's "verie twichestane" (James VI and I, "Revlis" 74) or "very touchstone"—that is, its essence and determining factor. Rhyme, rhythm, and music represent order for James. At the most basic level, a defect in one aspect of any of them mars the entire work. But although in poetry as in politics everything has its place, he considers slight and occasional harmonic disruptions acceptable, if not necessary. As an author and critic, and as a monarch willing to entertain constructive criticism for the good of his rule, he is willing to find the middle ground between rigid order and its occasional necessary innovation.

Convinced of his poetic and political mastery, James informs his audience that he has and will exercise the power to teach them "the wordis, sentences, and phrasis necessair for a Poete to vse in his verse" (74). His first dictum on this subject is to "take heid to frame zour wordis and sentencis according to the mater" (75); that is, for the purposes of unity and ordered construction, a poet must mediate between content and form in order to use diction that matches the subject matter. In flying or invective verse, for example, he prescribes that words should be "cuttit short," while for tragic poetry he recommends words that "man be drawin lang" (75). Similarly, he argues that a poet must "vse heigh, pithie, and learnit wordis" for scholarly work, and "vse commoun language, with some passionate wordis" for love poetry (76). He continues by stating that when using poetic devices such as comparisons, epithets, and proverbs, the poet must "take heid that they be sa proper for the subject" that they are neither too base nor too elevated to convey theme properly (77). The proverb is particularly fitting as an expression of James's poetic and even moral superiority over others, for as a self-evident aphorism often of biblical origin, it is a natural textual device in which James could explore ideologies both of his fatherly duty toward his subjects and of his place in the divine order as purveyor of God's

Word. Moreover, the fact that he feels qualified to instruct others in the use of proverbs demonstrates the level of textual authority to which he aspires, and perhaps has even reached, as king. In prescribing that diction and poetic devices "man be proper for the subject" that they convey (77), James portrays himself as a poet and monarch sensitive to the subtleties of language, concerned for the welfare of others, and dedicated to pursuing and promoting the ideals of mediation and order.

Although he does argue in the "Revlis" that overtly political subjects dealing with "materis of commoun weill" are "to graue materis for a Poet to mell in" (79), James believes that through its ordered construction, the poetic medium is inherently a political entity, its content notwithstanding. In monarchical politics, as in poetry, everything has its place, and the medium of expression is as charged with meaning as is the content. By outlining the verse forms suitable for various subjects, James argues that subjects such as history, love, and politics have their own ordered discourses, of which he is a stern but nonetheless moderate master and adjudicator. In his opinion, kingship, too, has an appropriate discourse which he outlines in the "Revlis": ordered, divinely inspired poetry, the exploration, mastery, and prescription of which marks him as both a literary and political authority.

As a series of poetic dicta, the "Revlis" demonstrates that by virtue of being head of both the Castalian band and the political nation, James had a reverence for poetic and monarchical order that far outstripped that even of his literary colleagues. By undertaking in the "Revlis" to "teach the poet his craft by means of arbitrary laws" (Jack, *Italian* 55), James performs an authoritative textual act that parallels—and even prefaces—his growing political role in which he functions as primary giver and enforcer of laws. Jack's characterisation of James's poetic laws as "arbitrary" ones is significant, for in his "schort treatise," James does not devote much space to explaining or justifying his "revlis and cautelis." As a divinely ordained mediator between God and humans, the master poet—like the authoritative king—is responsible for administering and upholding

God's law, but is not necessarily required to explain it. In summarising the "Revlis," Jonathan Goldberg argues that "the treatise proposes subjection and submission to language" (20). More than that, however, the text proposes subjection and submission to the figure who controls language itself: the master poet and king.

In the rest of the *Prentise*, James takes greater control of the written word to dramatise and demonstrate his increasing political and even ecclesiastical mastery. The translation of Psalm 104 that follows the "Revlis," for example, represents a significant step forward in terms of his developing authority. In general, the work's content portrays James as a divinely ordained poet who as an intermediary between God and humans conveys the divine order of the world (and Word) to others. In the very first line, James implores God to "inspyre [his] spreit and pen" ("Psalme" line 1), and in doing so makes an immediate statement of his function as a divine instrument. In the rest of the Psalm, he lists various of the "wondrous workes" with which God has "set the earth on her foundations sure" (line 31; line 14): celestial objects such as the sun and moon, individual worldly creations such as animals and plants, and the general topographical features that make up "the earth's great fulnes" (line 67). James's use of the term "workes" is significant, for presumably, part of the divine order with which God "hes so drest" the world (line 55) is the text of the Bible itself, and also the literary and political writings through which James the divine-right monarch serves his "King" (line 91) and thereby maintains this inviolable order on earth. By praising and detailing "how large and mightie are [God's] workis" (line 65), James articulates his own might as God's primary instrument in the world—a might that he would later develop as internationalist Christian king and official "Authorisor" of God's Word on earth.

Even more than the content, the medium of James's translation of Psalm 104 is a statement of his textual mastery and an exploration and articulation of royal power. The very act of translating the text, for example, demonstrates both James's increasing poetic skill and his rising stature as a political and religious figure. His ability to mediate

between creativity and order is tested here more than in his previous works, particularly since by nature of its being God's Word, a biblical translation requires an especially accurate literal rendering. The fact that James reproduces the Psalm in verse adds a further degree of complexity, since he is required to manipulate the original in order to make it subscribe to the strictures of rhyme and rhythm while accurately conveying the content. As well, the precise verse form in which he couches the text—the *ababbcbc* rhyme scheme that in the "Revlis" he calls "Ballat Royal"—has monarchical undertones in its very name, a fact that immediately links kingship with God's Word. Regarding the roughly thirty Psalms that James translated during his lifetime, Kevin Sharpe says that James "mediates Scripture through royal discourse and melds the king's words with those of King David and the King of Kings" ("Writ" 127). In the very act of performing a translation, the translator acknowledges a debt to the original author, but by translating Psalm 104, James is not beholden to a mortal figure such as du Bartas or Lucan. Rather, in the literary and religious hierarchy he occupies an intermediary place: like Solomon or King David, he is above humans and below God, the author of all. By imposing vernacular verse order on the Scriptures and interpreting and relaying the Word of God for His subjects on earth, James exercises his own mediating and ordering powers. In so doing, he assumes at least partial control over the Bible, and reaches the pinnacle of mediation and authority as both poet and king. With his translation of Psalm 104 which in the King James Bible would be called "a meditation upon the mighty power and providence of God," James explores the "mighty power" of God's monarchical representative on earth. And his rendering of Psalm 104—an act that controls not just the word, but the Word—is only a prelude to James's lasting testament to his authority as God's poetic, political, and religious instrument on earth: the King James Bible whose translation he would effect soon after his assumption of power in England.

In the sonnet that concludes the *Prentise*, James tells the reader that the poems included in the volume are his "first fructis" ("Authour" line 10)—the initial product of

his blossoming as a poet. The metaphor is a fitting one, for over the course of the *Prentise*, through his writings he has transformed himself from an apprentice poet dependent on others to a near master poet capable of judging and defining poetic technique for others. The *Prentise* dramatises his progression from inexperienced to experienced poet and monarch, and the poems that comprise it function as signposts that mark the stages of his growing poetic and monarchical agency. After his tentative and derivative poems in the first half of the work, with the watershed poem the "Phoenix" he begins to assert himself both poetically and politically, and by the time he writes the "Revlis," he has become a literary authority able to impose an order on the poetic realm analogous to that which he impresses upon the political one. By composing a manifesto on wordcraft and translating a section of the Bible, he shows himself to be a mediating but commanding authority qualified to exercise his theoretical powers of statecraft as political and religious ruler. A divinely sanctioned poet and critic in his own right, he is no longer an apprentice in the divine arts of either "poesie" or government, but can exercise confidently his authority and skills of mediation in both the world of poetry and the world of power politics. With the *Prentise*, James writes himself into authority in two significant ways: through the specific order of its constituent works, the volume represents the gruelling process by which James has prepared himself for poetic and political mastery; and through its very existence, the volume as a whole is a powerful symbol of cultural and political authority in a new world of printed texts. Overall, the *Prentise* functioned as a "write of passage" for James, and considering how his literary pursuits defined him politically as his Scottish rule continued and his English one began, the text unquestionably was as he termed it "of fyner Poemis the beginning small" ("Authour" line 12).

The next published fruits of James's poetic labours are the poems contained in the 1591 volume entitled *His Maiesties Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres*, a text that Sandra Bell states "is equally involved in the politics of James's reign" (198). Bell

actually understates the importance of the *Exercises* to James's textual definition of monarchical rule. When considered in conjunction with their prefatory material, the two major poems in this volume—a translation of du Bartas' "Les Furies" and the original poem "Lepanto"—expand upon the *Prentise* by showing that having completed his apprenticeship, James is now even more capable than before of *exercising* autonomous poetic and political power. The "Furies" and "Lepanto"—1535 and 1032 lines long, respectively—are more ambitious literary and political projects by far than any of those contained in the *Prentise*. Being works of near-epic size, by their very length they convey the idea that James is now a master poet and commentator with both a fuller awareness of the world than before and a more refined means of communicating this synoptic view of things to others. Although MS Bodley 165 indicates that James wrote "Lepanto" before the "Furies" (Craigie, Introduction 1: xlvihi-xlix), he deliberately places the poems in reverse order in the *Exercises* itself, so that by considering the poems in the order in which they appear, the reader sees a progression in James's development into a master poet: at the beginning of the volume when he translates du Bartas' "Furies," he is still an immature poet who relies upon someone else's world view; by the end of the volume when he composes his own epic "Lepanto," he is a mature author who interprets historical and political events for himself and in doing so becomes a textual authority upon whom others are reliant. If he is not a complete master of all things poetical and political upon completing the *Prentise*, by the end of the *Exercises* he firmly believes that the tide has turned; he is not just the *translator* but also the *translated*, and is thus a textual and monarchical master who engages with but also dictates and judges the words and actions of others.

The title page confirms James's poetic ascendancy. Its very wording, for example—*His Maiesties Poetical Exercises at Vacant Houres*—asserts the identity and stature of the author. The statement that the works have been composed "at vacant houres" belies the importance of the works by implying that poetry is the author's hobby

or diversion rather than occupation; the fact that the author apparently can so effortlessly write such detailed works in his spare time demonstrates his high degree of poetic mastery. But the poems are not as effortless as the title indicates at first glance. By stating that he has composed the works "at vacant houres," James emphasises the weight of his monarchical burden, a burden "so great and continuall, [and] without anie intermission" that he has had to compose the works only in "stollen moments" ("Avthovr" 98). Although he has little time to compose poetry, however, he demonstrates in the title that the process is critical to his rule: as "poeticall exercises," the poems are the author's concerted efforts both to improve and to demonstrate his literary fitness in anticipation of future gruelling activity. Unlike the *Prentise*, the *Exercises* makes clear in the title the identity of the author—"His Maiestie"—but more importantly, by placing the words "Maiesties" and "Poeticall" directly beside each other, James closely conjoins poetry and monarchy in the title. In James's opinion, the two are so intertwined as to be indistinguishable, and the remainder of the volume helps him both to explore and to exploit this intimate relationship.

But before the reader gets to the poems in the volume, other aspects of the title page articulate James's textual and political control of the realm. Just as the printer of the *Prentise*, Thomas Vautroullier, was a radical Huguenot exile, Robert Waldegrave, the printer of the *Exercises*, was a radical whose employment under James in light of his recent history was a testament to James's engagement with and tolerance of alternative religious and political views. Having fled England because of his suspected involvement in the publication of the "Martin Marprelate" tracts, Waldegrave had been made "printer to the Kings Maiestie" on 9 October 1590, roughly seven months before the publication of the *Exercises* (Craigie, Introduction 1: xlv-xlvi). Waldegrave is a political figure at work for a political cause, and so it is hardly surprising that the poems in the *Exercises* comment upon the nature of James's monarchical authority. The fact that Waldegrave printed the *Exercises* "Cum Priuelegio Regali" demonstrates James's mediating authority

in several ways: James authorises and protects the radical figure; he is able to put him to constructive use *for* rather than *against* the monarchy; and in giving the English dissident an official position in Scotland, he expresses his association with but independence from English affairs. From its very title page, then, the book is infused with the idea of James's constructive engagement with others, his independence as monarch, and above all, his empowering ability to control the production of the text.

The first of the major poems in the volume, James's translation of du Bartas "Furies," is by virtue of its very existence a statement of James's textual mastery and political authority. While in the *Prentise* James professes his inability to translate the more "difficile, and prolixed Poems" of du Bartas ("Fauorable" 16), after having cut his teeth by translating the "Uranie" and even a brief section of the Psalms, by the beginning of the *Exercises* he feels confident enough to attempt to render in Scots a larger and more complex example of du Bartas' work. Bordering on the epic, this translation solidifies James's conception of himself as a poetic master and mediator: he is capable of engaging intertextually with a complicated work and rendering it in an accurate but elegantly written form that balances imitation and invention; in addition, as mediator he is able to merge Continental and Scottish poetics and politics within a new-style internationalist monarchical context. The fact that he translates a work by du Bartas for his audience is also significant, for the fact that du Bartas was a Huguenot and former soldier again demonstrates James's engagement with alternative viewpoints and his linkage of poetry and power politics. As well, in his political treatises of the later 1590s James calls the French author "the divine Poet DV BARTAS" and recommends his works as reading for a future monarch (*Trew Law* 79; *Basilicon Doron* 58). James's ability not just to read but also to translate a text that he calls a "worke which man did write / But by the Lord is pend" ("Furies" lines 1515-6) shows the extent of his learning, and his choice of this particular text demonstrates his understanding of his role as divine instrument on earth. With the translation, he acts as an intermediary between divine author and reader, and in

doing so demonstrates that he is no longer a student of others' works, but is actually a teacher who by translating texts enables others to learn what is otherwise inaccessible to them. This textual power is supplemented by James's reputation as a British and even international man of learning. He had been taught by Buchanan, Europe's foremost classical scholar, and had met du Bartas in 1587. Between his time spent at the Norwegian and Danish courts, on 20 March 1590 he had even spent seven hours with Tycho Brahe at the astronomer's observatory on the Danish island of Hven, a meeting that prompted him to compose a sonnet in Brahe's honour (Craigie, "Notes" 2: 231). With the publication of the "Furies" as part of his *Exercises* in 1591, then, James added to his already-growing reputation as an accomplished scholar and poet who was a locus of both British and Continental streams of thought.

Through the material that prefaces the "Fvries" itself, James conveys to the reader that his poetry is truly his *work*—the duty of an authoritative but caring monarch. Even when composing and revising the text, he argues, he has been performing his duties toward his subjects, for his intention is that in reading the text, his subjects will "learne not to flatter [themselves], in cloaking [their] odious vices with the delectable coulour of vertue" ("Avthovr" 98). He views the education of his subjects as part of his monarchical duty, and given the power structure inherent in the teacher/student relationship, his ability to teach them is an affirmation of his authority as king. Since he believes that his subjects may not be able to understand du Bartas' text, he includes with the "Furies" the "Praeface and Exord of the whole woorke, that thereby [they] may rightlie conceaue" the text's meaning (98). In the Jacobean world of print, knowledge is power, and James takes great care to demonstrate to his subjects that only with his assistance can they attain any degree of true understanding of "the cursed nature of mankinde, and the heauie plagues of God" (98). As both poet and king, he comprehends the relationship between God and humans, and with the text of the "Fvries," he conveys to his subjects the gap between God and man—a gap that he fills in his role as God's intermediary and judge on

earth. In performing what he calls poetic "labours" with the translation of du Bartas (100)—and with the editorial intrusion in the preface that constitutes an intellectual and even moral act—James asserts that he is a textual master who takes seriously his responsibility to care for and educate his subjects, and who like the classical Furies occupies a unique and powerful judgemental position in the divine order.

As they do in the *Prentise*, in the *Exercises* the prefatory poems by other poets portray James as a textual and political authority worthy of governing both the literary and political worlds. While the commendatory works accompanying the *Prentise* are written by Scottish authors who are primarily members of the Castalian band, those preceding the *Exercises* are written by a more diverse and international group: William Fowler the Castalian poet; Henry Constable, an English poet and Catholic agent who spent time in Scotland in 1589; Henry Locke, an English government agent who served in Scotland in 1588; and even Hadrian Damman, a Flemish scholar chosen by the King of Denmark to accompany Anne to Scotland and speak Latin with James (Craigie, "Notes" 1: 316-17). The implication of this diverse authorship is that James has moved beyond the literary concerns of his Castalian band, and is now the centre of a literary, religious, and political network that encompasses not just Scotland, but also England and the Continent. And in their content, the commendatory poems articulate the status that James has reached as poet and monarch. In a reference to James's transition from "King Cupid" to the "royal Apollo," for example, Constable praises James's ability to rise to high poetic standing in his youth and leave "CVPIDS wings below" (line 11), and in a similar vein, Locke tells James directly that the prefatory poems are "vnworthy records of your sacred skill" as poet (line 10). In his prefatory sonnet, Fowler links more closely James's unique poetic and political mastery, and in doing so neatly outlines James's paradigm for textual rule. In the poem's title, Fowler calls James "the onely royal poet," but more importantly, he praises both James's literary and political work:

By your verse we plainelie (Sir) may see.

You shall the writer and the worker be" ("Poet" lines 12-13)

Fowler's statement is an ambiguous one; it means that from reading his verse, the audience can see that James is both a poetic and political force, but more importantly, it also means that the audience can see that James has become such a figure *through his writing*. The two possible interpretations together make one definitive statement of James's monarchical power as explored in the *Exercises*: his authorship is both the *evidence of* and the *means to* his literary and monarchical authority. The very authorship of the commendatory poems, for example, demonstrates that James is a monarch with English and even internationalist sensibilities and connections.

Before embarking upon the translation of the "Furies" itself, James writes two prefatory poems that help to define his position as a divinely sanctioned literary and political leader of men. First, he presents a work entitled "The Exord, or Preface of the Second Week of dv Bartas," a translation consisting of small sections of du Bartas' *La Seconde Sepmaine*. Believing du Bartas's work to be too "obscure" for the average reader to "rightlie conceaue" of ("Avthovr" 98), James intends the "Exord" to function as a sort of abstract, a means of quickly outlining themes for the unschooled reader. Yet rather than "filling in the gaps" for the reader, by including the translation James actually *creates* a gap, for he realises that he must distinguish himself as teacher-monarch from his student-subjects. Unlike his subjects, he has a knowledge of the order that the "mightie God" has placed upon the earth since its "birth" ("Exord" lines 1-4), and his translation of the "Furies" is his attempt to demonstrate how the "holie Pilote great" (line 27) orders and guides events on earth. By calling his impending translation of the "Furies" "the storie of the Kings" (line 19), James clarifies exactly who maintains this order: the "soueraigne Prince" (line 61) who functions as an intermediary between God and His subjects. But James does not simply intend to articulate God's order to his subjects in the "Furies"; he also plans to portray for them the chaos born out of the destruction of that order, and to this end he uses as an example Adam, whose "pretence"

to rise above his station by disobeying God led to his expulsion from Eden (lines 10-16). In an original composition that he entitles "The Translators Invocation," James further articulates to his readers his monarchical function as it will be explored in his upcoming translation of the "Furies." Inspired and sanctioned by God, who is the "guider of [his] Spreit, / And leader of [his] pen" ("Invocation" lines 29-30), James must use his "sublime" and "heauenly verse" (lines 3-5) to impress upon his subjects both the necessity of obeying God and His chosen ruler on earth, and the punishment required for those who subvert the divine order. Before he even presents the "Furies" to his readers, then, in his two prefatory works James foreshadows its major monarchical themes in an attempt to instil more firmly in his subjects their duty to obey his divinely ordained and mediating authority.

In the text of the "Furies" itself—a complicated and not entirely chronological examination of how Adam's disobedience has destroyed the fabric of the divine order—James finds a model for proper monarchical behaviour and at the same time conveys to his subjects the necessity of obeying God's representative on earth. By describing Adam's original privileged state, discussing his defiance of God, and examining the aftermath, du Bartas characterises a world where only those with a direct link to the divinity—poets and kings—can maintain what is left of God's order. As a poet-king seeking to define and articulate his authority, James uses the specific content of his translation of the "Furies" to articulate his position as divinely ordained ruler of his subjects.

James begins by describing the divinely ordered world that existed in the time of Adam. He argues that in Adam's day, the entire world existed in a state of harmony with the divine power who had exercised his creative ability by bringing the ordered world into being:

All this WHOLE, was like vnto

Ane instrument in toone

Well set, and well accorded iust. ("Fvries" lines 37-9).

James writes that in their original state, the constituent parts of the earth were not simply in tune with God, but were also in balance with each other:

The lowest of a concord blest
 Resounded with the hie,
 The wak with dry, the cold agreed
 With that which hottest be. (lines 53-6)

In his opinion, God is a creative and mediating force whose ability to construct such a perfect world in which opposites co-exist is a testament to his power and greatness, and a model for monarchical rule. And in this original paradise, God made Adam "the king / Of all things heere below" (lines 185-6), the ruler of the natural world and all the creatures that inhabit it. As the first king, Adam, "in serving God, was seru'd / Of all the world apace" (lines 45-6); that is, he functioned as an intermediary between God and the world, so that in obeying his command, the animals had no choice but "to please their double head" (line 51): both Adam *and* God. Living under the harmonious rule of a "father myld," Man was "the speciall, and / The most resounding string / Of this WHOLES Lute" (line 23; lines 89-91)—a divine instrument on earth and a living example of the conventional Renaissance symbol of order.

Through his own disobedience of God, however, and thus through his misrule, Adam disrupted the divine order and forfeited his and his heirs' connection to God. Having eaten the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge contrary to God's order, Adam "impudentlie" usurped God's authority by subscribing to that of Satan and attempting to rise above his intermediary status. Consequently, he went from being a divine instrument to being a string that was "bended, out / Of toone" (line 34; lines 91-2). James argues that by "rebellng thus against / The soueraigne great," Adam has destroyed the divine order and sentenced later generations "vnto the way / Of death" (lines 225-6; lines 187-8). God has been "transformd from father myld [to] Iudge" (line 23), and for humankind,

Euen all the compasse of
 This Fabrique large and round,
 Is but a very store-house of
 Gods wrath that doth abound. (lines 221-4)

While Adam had formerly co-existed harmoniously with the creatures over whom he ruled in God's name, after his fall, the world "doth rage against him" and his progeny (line 256). James continues by describing "the ills of mind and body to which Man is liable as a result of the transgression of Adam" (Craigie, Introduction 1: lii). Adam's descendants have lost their divinely sanctioned control of the earth, and disorder, formerly an intellectual concept, is now a physical reality: animals that were "our slaues are now / Become our tyrants strong" ("Furies" lines 363-4). As a further result of Adam's fall, humans have been obliged physically "to suffer euerie way" (line 504) from such vengeful "furies" as hunger, thirst, bodily illness, and even painful death. They have also suffered mentally, for they have continually been assailed by other torments that "inwardly do make assault" on them—boredom, sadness, fear, and insanity—and now exist in a world that is "but a Prison vyle, / A Hell filled with fray" (line 1195; lines 17-18). In short, since Adam, the first king, chose to sever his connection to God by disobeying His dicta and attempting to usurp His power, God has continued to "justlie punish right / Our couetous lusts with torments sharpe" (lines 322-3) that are analogous to those of the Furies who in classical mythology avenged wrongs committed by children against parents.

Du Bartas argues, however—and James asserts—that humans do not have to be at odds with the divinity through their descent from the fallen Adam and their association with his original sin:

Knowing once the euill,
 That doth vs brooke and binde,
 It is not too difficill syne,

The remedie to finde. (lines 1389-92)

This remedy is to re-establish and maintain the human connection to God—to resurrect the pre-fallen Adam—in a contemporary person. Since he alone can see this remedy, and since communicating it is a difficult task, James relies on ordered, divinely inspired verse to enlighten humankind. With his translation of du Bartas' text, James seeks to tell the reader how to re-establish the divine connection: through divinely sanctioned intermediary figures whom humans serve and who in turn serve God and maintain his order on earth. More specifically, James argues that the salvation of the disordered world lies in "Dame Natures counsellors, and the Almightyes agents ay"—poets and kings, respectively—who fill what he calls the "gulfes profound" (lines 1177-8; line 118) that has separated humans from God. If "any paine by art of man may slaked be" (lines 1181-2), then the poet's divinely inspired poetic art and the monarch's divinely sanctioned political one can serve to mediate between God and the children of Adam. As both a poet and a king, James asserts himself as uniquely qualified to articulate and exercise God's authority.

Overall, then, James's "Fvries" prefigures his future authority as king. James's ability to render but at the same time adorn Du Bartas' text through his translation is an exercise of what he believes to be the kingly virtues of dialogical engagement and mediation between extremes. His status as a poet working within intertextual dialogue by translating the "deuine and illuster" du Bartas represents his divinely sanctioned literary authority. In du Bartas's work, James finds a model for his own function as the poet-king; as a poet, he considers himself the heir of the pre-fallen Adam, a textual and political authority capable of maintaining the connection between God and humans and thus restoring the divine order with which God originally infused the world. By translating du Bartas, James explores, articulates, and exercises not just his poetic mastery, but also his divinely ordained political one. Moreover, through this literary

experiment he lays the groundwork for his more overt textual justifications of divine-right monarchy of the later 1590s.

The work that concludes the *Exercises* is James's poetic treatment of the 7 October 1571 battle of Lepanto, the naval engagement in which a joint Papal, Spanish, and Venetian galley fleet under the command of Don John of Austria defeated the Turkish forces of Selim II. The battle of Lepanto was a turning point in European naval and political affairs for two reasons: it was the last major naval battle involving galley ships powered by both sail and oar, and thus marked the end of a style of naval operations that had been common since the time of the ancient Greeks (Beeching 195); as well, coming after the successful expansion of the Ottoman empire under Suleiman the Magnificent, the battle of Lepanto was the last time that the Turks posed a serious political and religious threat to Mediterranean Europe. It is fitting, then, that a verse treatment of the battle is for James a turning point in his textual consolidation of his poetic and political authority. The publication of "Lepanto" marks the final stage in James's development as a poetic master and authoritative monarch. In writing the text, he defines himself as a figure to whom others defer, a mature internationalist poet with a keen understanding of European political affairs. At the same time, he explores the processes of dialogue and mediation to which he has been committed since his childhood, and confirms his identity as a divinely ordained ruler whose literary and monarchical authority separates him from his subjects. He was still to some degree a Scottish literary and political apprentice upon completion of the *Prentise*, but by the time he published "Lepanto," he was a textually defined and internationally acknowledged master both of words and of men. Not only did he make "Lepanto"; "Lepanto" made him.

With "Lepanto," James establishes himself as a noteworthy internationalist figure. By its very nature the general content of the work—the defeat of the Turkish forces at the hands of the Holy League—has more overt political and religious overtones than other of James's poems such as his translation of Lucan or even his original poem the "Phoenix."

Moving beyond the usual parochial concerns of the Castalian band, and even beyond those of Scotland itself, James—who spent several months at the Norwegian and Danish courts in the winter of 1589-90—appears to be a poet and ruler more aware than before of the larger world around him. More importantly, others are aware of him and his original work. No longer just a translator, James is also the *translated*, for sometime in the 1590s a German translation of “Lepanto” was published, and in 1603 Abraham Vander Myl published a Dutch version of the work (Craigie, Introduction 1: xcvi-cii). And in 1588—three years before the official Scottish publication of “Lepanto” in 1591—Thomas Moray translated the text into Latin under the title “Naupactiados.” Although Moray’s work was published only in 1604, after James’s accession to the English throne (xlvii-xlviii), the act of translating James’s vernacular poem into Latin confirmed James’s status both in the late 1580s and the early 1600s as a poetic master: he was a source of inspiration for other poets who viewed, or at least claimed to view, his work as worthy of being reproduced for others; in addition, he was a vernacular poet whose work was authorised or made official by its translation into Latin.

Du Bartas’ translation of “Lepanto” established even more firmly James’s reputation as an active and original poet engaged in dialogue with others. Du Bartas perhaps performed his translation more as a diplomatic tactic than as an acknowledgement of James’s genius, since he translated the work around 1587, the year he visited Scotland and delivered a letter from Henri IV that proposed a marriage between James and Henri’s sister, the Princess of Navarre (McCrie 1: 287). Nonetheless, du Bartas was one of the premier European poets and not a mere functionary. When he published the translation “auec Priuelege de sa Majeste” as part of his collected works, the poem immediately “established James’s fame on the Continent” (Craigie, Introduction 1: xlvii) as a poet worthy of du Bartas’ admiration. James was careful to capitalise upon du Bartas’ translation, for in the original *Exercises* volume, du Bartas’ poem appears with James’s original, a conjunction that provides an overt link between James’s scholarly and

poetic ability and that of the internationally renowned du Bartas. Outside Scotland, James's poetry—and in particular the publicly translated "Lepanto"—was "accepted as a sign of James's civilised authority" (Bell 203). Far from being a derivative provincial poet engaging with the works of others, James was now an international figure and world leader whose works were themselves to be intertextually engaged with by the most eminent writers. With du Bartas' translation of James's "Lepanto," the literary tables had turned, and James had become a poetic source for others to draw on, an original and internationally respected poet whose literary status provided a model for his function as an authoritative monarch upon whom others were reliant.

But in writing "Lepanto," James is not merely a poetic source for others; he is also an historical source, the sort of figure that he had himself been trained to respect, if not revere, during his studies under Buchanan. Rather than dealing with mythologised—or at the very least, idealised—subject matter as he does in the "Vranie" and the "Phoenix," in "Lepanto" James provides the reader with a more earthy and graphic description of European and Middle Eastern history. Although he couches this history in ordered verse by following "the rules of the poeticke art" (James VI and I, "Preface" 200), within this artistic format he describes a military engagement to whose ferocity the former soldier du Bartas and the author Cervantes—who himself lost a hand at Lepanto (Fitzmaurice-Kelly 28-9)—could attest. For example, at the beginning of the poem, James promises to chronicle

A cruell Martiall warre,
A bloodie battell bolde,
Long doubtosome fight, with slaughter huge
And wounded manifold. ("Lepanto" lines 5-8)

Throughout the poem, James delivers on this promise by graphically describing the sounds of battle, including

The piteous plaints, the hideous howles,

The greeuous cries and mones,
 Of millions wounded sundrie waies,
 But dying all at ones. (lines 625-8)

For added realism, he provides the reader with even more sensory imagery, including a series of shootings, beheadings, and other maimings which hardly seem appropriate subject matter for a monarch who prided himself on his pacifism, but which establish his credentials as an informed and authentic historical source.

James believes that as an authoritative narrator and judge of historical events, he has a duty to describe for the reader such grotesque sights as the "law-bones and braines of kild and hurt, / Who wisht (for paine) to die" (lines 727-8). He calls his work a "poetique History," but a history nonetheless, and he engages with even its most repugnant aspects. For him to "speake the truth" and give the work "greter viuenes," he must deal with worldly events in an accurate manner. The result, he believes, is "a true History" of the battle of Lepanto in the historiographical tradition of Virgil and Homer, a text to which his "beloued Reader" ("Authors" 200; 198) can refer in order to gain historical insight. No longer a student of history, James is now the interpreter, judge, and writer of it: a source rather than a passive recipient of knowledge. He is a man of the world, not afraid to engage with international events and their potentially fatal consequences, and—unlike the author of the ostensibly anonymous *Prentise*—not afraid to affix his name to and stake his reputation on the text that he boldly titles "The Lepanto of Iames the Sixt, King of Scotland."

In part, the monarchical reputation that James stakes for himself with the poem is that of his being a defender of the Protestant faith, a role that was particularly important to him given his longstanding attempt to assert his authority over the Kirk and its ministers. In the preface to the poem, James portrays himself as a Protestant champion by arguing that although the text thanks God for allowing Catholics to secure a Christian victory over the Turks, it is neither a defence nor an endorsement of Catholicism. At first

glance, one could—and contemporary readers of the work evidently did—view the text as a statement of James's sympathy for and even support of the Catholic cause. The galley fleet that with God's help defeats the Turks at Lepanto, for example, is a Catholic one comprised of Papal, Spanish, and Venetian forces, a fact that raises the question as to why James would "write a heroic poem about someone else's victory (real or apparent) in someone else's war" (Appelbaum 334). To compound matters, James describes the Catholic commander of this victorious fleet—Don John of Austria, who was also the Spanish king's half-brother and the illegitimate son of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V—as a "General great" ("Lepanto" line 207). Since Don John's "next (and last) great military adventure had been a devastatingly successful Spanish expedition against Protestant forces in the Netherlands" (Appelbaum 341), to many contemporary readers James appeared to have been expressing Catholic sympathies. In short, "James's choice of hero could hardly appear acceptable to his Protestant readership" either within or outside Scotland (Bell 194), for on the surface he appears to support, if not openly praise, the declared Christian enemies of Protestants both in Scotland and in Europe at large.

But although others may have been prepared to twist his words, James shows himself to be a textual master ready for the spin. In both the preface and the text of "Lepanto" itself, James takes great pains to convey to the reader that despite the general subject matter, he is in fact a strong advocate of Protestantism. In the preface, for example, he asserts his firm Protestantism and demonstrates his textual power over his audience by instructing the reader "who is either too stupid to understand the poem, or who wilfully, maliciously misunderstands it" (Bell 197). He says that the text has existed for several years in the form of pirated copies that do not contain an author's preface, and as a result, the poem has "bene in some things misco[n]strued by sundry" who have mistaken "a part of the meaning thereof" ("Avthors" 198). He argues that he is not "a Mercenary Poet" with no strong religious loyalties or convictions, and flatly states that he has not written the work "in praise of a forraine Papist bastard" (198). He points out that at the

beginning of the poem where he outlines the work's general argument, he does not even mention Don John, which he would have done if he "had penned the whole Poeme in his praise" (198-200). In fact, he argues, he has been inspired to write the poem not by his admiration of Catholics, but rather by "the stirring vppe of the league and cruell persecution of the Protestants in all countries." He states that he began the poem "at the very first raging" of this persecution by Catholics, and because of his passion for the subject, "both begun and ended [the work] in the same Summer, wherein the league was published in France" (198). On the basis of these statements, James Craigie argues that James composed the text in the summer of 1585, a year after the Catholic League was formed in France to bar Henri of Navarre from the throne, and the same year that Henri III concluded the treaty of Nemours with the Catholic League and thus disrupted the uneasy peace between French Catholics and Protestants that had existed for the better part of a decade (Craigie, Introduction 1: xlviii). Although he officially published the text only in 1591—two years after Henri of Navarre became Henri IV of France—James initially wrote it in response to the attempted exclusion of a Protestant claimant from the French throne, an action one would expect of a king who believed himself to be a Protestant monarch divinely ordained to rule but beset by both secular and ecclesiastical enemies seeking to overturn God's order. Since the text originates out of as well as demonstrates James's longstanding support for the Protestant monarchical cause in France and in Europe in general, it functions as an "attempt to bind together the Protestant nations in the face of a Catholic threat" (Bell 194), presumably with James, the longtime Protestant champion, at the head of this union. After Henri IV's 1593 conversion to Catholicism, the Protestant nations were not so tightly bound together as before, but by this time, "Lepanto" had helped to solidify James's position as a resolutely Protestant ruler independent of the influence of others.

The poem's general content further demonstrates that James considers himself a Protestant king independent of Catholic influence. James states that by narrating the

victory of the Catholic forces over the Turks, he makes "a Poetike comparison" ("Avthors" 198) between Catholicism and Protestantism; that is, the poem's purpose is to "compare and applie the former comparison to our present estate, taking occasion thereupon to speake some what of our religion" (200). After stating at the outset that the Catholic victory has been "a wondrous worke of God" ("Lepanto" line 1), he then explores the ends to which God would go to protect his true Protestant subjects. After the battle, a chorus of angels argues that if at the battle of Lepanto God has helped Catholics who "worship God of bread" and pray to priestly "Mediatours" other than those ordained by Him, there is no limit to the assistance that He will provide to Protestants who "onelic feare and serue, / His dearest Sonne" (lines 979-91). Although for generations Catholics have "seru'd not right" in religion, God has nonetheless helped them in their time of need (lines 1023-4), but in pointing this out, James does not endorse Catholicism as the proper mode of worship; rather, he uses the Catholic victory at Lepanto as evidence of the even greater services God will perform for his true subjects: his Protestant monarchs and their obedient and faithful subjects. James believes that since the battle of Lepanto has been won by an indirect king, there is no limit to what he can achieve as the legitimate heir of one of the most firmly established and central monarchical lines in Europe. Despite its initial appearance, then, "Lepanto" is not the work of a Catholic apologist, but rather that of a Presbyterian monarch seeking to define himself both at home and abroad as a Protestant champion.

But James does not define himself in "Lepanto" as simply a Protestant champion; although his support of the Protestant cause is firm, he espouses also a characteristic ecumenicalism that portrays him as a mediating and reconciling figure. Published in the twentieth-anniversary year of the battle of Lepanto, the poem marked—more recent events such as the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre and the monarchical wars of religion in France notwithstanding—a period of Christian co-operation in the face of a common religious opposition. Sandra Bell states that "James appears to have envisaged the

victory as a Christian rather than specifically Catholic one" (Bell 194)—or even specifically Protestant one—and thus for him the battle of Lepanto stands as a model of the power inherent in a unified Christian Europe. The struggle is not one between Christians as it had been with the events in France that initially inspired James to write the poem, but rather is one characterised by an "us versus them" mentality: it is a battle "betwixt the baptiz'd race, / And circumsised Turband Turkes" ("Lepanto" lines 10-11). In the poem, God notes that "all christians serues my Sonne though not / Aright in everie thing" (lines 79-80); that is, although they follow different modes of worship, they put their differences aside and unite as a "holie league" rather than as individual religions opposed to the Muslims (line 194). There are "quarrels and debates" between the Catholic forces, but the generals prefer "the publicke cause, / To priuate mens discord" (lines 315-20), and reconcile their differences in the name of a larger cause. In the actual battle of Lepanto, the Venetians had uncharacteristically allowed Spanish soldiers to serve on their galleys, and Christian slaves rowing in Turkish galleys had revolted in order to assist their compatriots (Beeching 191; 215). In James's poem, the Spanish, Papal, and Venetian forces—and perhaps even the Christian slaves—are members of "the Christian Nauie all" ("Lepanto" line 292), an ecumenical force operating not out of individual religious interest, but rather in service to God.

In the victorious unified Christian fleet, James finds a model of successful mediation and reconciliation that he can apply to his own kingship. For a monarch whose primary means of governance is to "play both sides of the religio-political division" (Bell 197), writing a poem about a group of "diuers Christian Princes joyned" in a common cause ("Lepanto" line 327) is an exploration of the virtue of remaining above party. The battle of Lepanto—and James's poem that chronicles it—is an argument for a mediation between ecclesiastical extremes since the victory is the result of different faiths, or at least different branches of the same faith, working together towards a common goal. Although the poem is primarily concerned with a violent naval engagement, underlying the text is

the idea of reconciliation and a constructive peace between Christians, and in the preface to the work, James argues that the role of the peacemaker—the figure who remains above party and mediates between extreme opinion—is the monarchical function that he seeks:

For as it becomes not the honour of my estate, like an hireling, to pen the praise
of any man: So becomes it far less the highnes of my rancke and calling, to spare
for the feare of fauor of whomesoeuer liuing, to speake or write the trueth of
anie. ("Avthors" 200)

Robert Appelbaum flatly states that James was "no ecumenist or internationalist" (362), but this simply is not the case. In a poem whose impetus is what he sees as religious intolerance in France, James defines himself as a peacemaking monarch mediating between different religious sects; ideally, he is neither solely a Protestant nor a Catholic king, but a *catholic* or universal one dedicated to using constructive debate and toleration in an international literary forum in order to resolve Christian ecclesiastical differences successfully.

But in James's opinion, success in the affairs of Christians is dependent not upon human actions, but rather, upon intervention by God and His sanctioned mediators on earth. In the text of the poem, James leaves out the human motivations and actions that led up to the battle—Selim II's desire to expand the Ottoman empire, his invasion of Cyprus, the slaughter of 20000 Christians at Nicosia, and the siege of Famagusta, for example—and instead portrays the conflagration as the result of the longstanding enmity between God and Satan. He provides no earthly explanation for the fact that the Turkish forces in the Gulf of Lepanto are "rencounting in that place" (line 12), but rather argues that the Turks operate at Satan's behest. God, for example, accuses Satan directly of inciting the Turks to violence:

Thou has inflamde their maddest mindes
With raging fire of wraith,
Against them all that doe professe

My name with feruent fayth. (lines 53-6)

In response to what He perceives as Satan's interference with His divine plan, God responds by sending the angel Gabriel to the Venetians "in likenes of a man" in order to "put into their minds / To take reuenge of wrongs the Turks / Haue done in sundrie kinds" (line 115; lines 90-2). As a result of this divine intervention, the Venetians and the rest of the Holy League resolve to fight their Muslim enemies, and in doing so function as divine instruments in God's enduring struggle against Satan.

According to James, not just the origins of the battle of Lepanto, but also its results are divinely ordained. In the first line of the poem, he calls the victory "a wondrous worke of God" (line 1)—not of Christians in general or of Don John in particular. He states that "to speake the truth of him," Don John functions in the battle not "as first or second cause of that victorie," but rather as God's instrument (James VI and I, "Avthors" 200), an earthly manifestation of "his justice heere-withall / Powr'd from his holy seat" ("Lepanto" lines 3-4). Basically, the specific participants in the dramatic battle are less important than the roles they play as divine instruments. The Venetian chorus near the end of the poem echoes this sentiment. Rather than praising either Don John or the individual soldiers who have defeated the Turks, its members thank "our dearest Father in Heauen, [who] hath redem'd vs out" of Muslim hands (lines 891-2). In the opinion of the chorus, God rather than humans is responsible for the victory, "for he it was reueng'd our cause, / And not our armie braue" (lines 907-8). Having "weighed in Heauen, / The Christian faults with faithlesse Turkes," God who "ballances" everything (lines 406-7; line 401) has ensured the Holy League's victory over the Satanically inspired Turks, and thus preserved the divine order on earth. By composing a work in which God ordains "diuers Christian Princes" (line 327) to preserve His order on earth, James numbers himself among these intermediaries, and nearly a decade before he defines himself as a divine-right monarch in *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* and *Basilicon Doron*, defines monarchy—even Catholic monarchy—as something divinely ordained, and contestable

only by those operating with God's sanction in a world that James understands and articulates in pre-Miltonic apocalyptic terms.

To end "Lepanto" and round out the *Exercises*, in a closing sonnet James succinctly outlines God's order on earth in which humans—and especially monarchs—function as divine instruments. In this ordered sonnet, as in his translation of Psalm 104, James provides a hierarchical list of the natural phenomena under godly jurisdiction. He begins with celestial objects, noting that God controls such massive entities as the "azur'd vaulte" and "crystall circles" that envelop the earth (James VI and I, "Sonet" line 1). He then examines the earth itself, and states that "the changing round" in its entirety is susceptible to divine rather than human influence (line 3). God's influence extends from the invisible components of the atmosphere—"rearding thunders, and the blustering winds"—to the tangible constituents of the earth: "wholesome hearbes, the hautie pleasant trees, / The syluer streames, [and] the beasts of sundrie kinds" (line 6; lines 10-11). James ends the sonnet by stating that "all these, for teaching man, the LORD did frame, / To do his will, whose glorie shines in thame" (lines 13-14). With this statement, the sonnet summarises James's synoptic view of the world: all creatures are God's instruments, and are "framed" by him to perform his will on earth. As James states in "Lepanto" itself, the entire earth is ordered by God,

Whose worde did make the world of nought,

And whose approouing syne,

Did stablish all even as wee see,

By force of voice deuine. (lines 73-6)

But in order to "stablish all," God requires instruments to carry His "voice deuine" to the world, and James believes that by writing "Lepanto," he is the figure to whom God has delegated this authority. When he asks God directly "to make thy holie Spreit my Muse, / And eik my pen inflame" (lines 21-2), James articulates to his readers that he is a divinely ordained poet and king who can create or destroy with a word: he is the

intermediary through whom God channels his inviolable power so as to maintain the divine order that infuses the world.

Jack Beeching dismisses "Lepanto" as an immature and sentimentalist work by stating that "swept away by boyish enthusiasm, little James" composed the poem at age twelve as a writing assignment for Buchanan (226). In fact, according to the preface to the work, James wrote the poem in 1585, a year after the formation of the Catholic League in France, and three years after Buchanan's death (Craigie, Introduction 1: xlviii). And in characterising the work as an insignificant component of James's poetic "juvenilia" (226), Beeching underestimates the formative role that the poem played in James's literary and political development. In a more perceptive assessment than Beeching's, James Craigie reserves guarded praise for "Lepanto," saying that "as a narrative poem [it] does not fall far, if at all, below the average of the time" (Craigie, Introduction 1: lxi). As a statement of monarchical rule, however, the poem is more than an "average" achievement. Appelbaum states that "a young man with artistic aspirations who had already tried his hand at translation and lyrical poems could scarcely select a more suitable subject matter or genre" than epic in which to demonstrate his growing poetic skill (341). As an aspiring poet and monarch, James was especially eager to explore and display his divinely ordained creative powers that followed in the Homeric tradition, and the epic form of "Lepanto" is in itself a statement of the level that James believes he has reached as poet and monarch. Through writing the poem, James defines himself as a creative and skilled internationalist poet who warrants the praise of authors such as du Bartas. At the same time, he presents himself as a man of the world, an authoritative judge of the actions of men and a tolerant but firm Protestant monarch committed to mediating between extreme religious points of view. Most importantly, he defines himself for his subjects as a man *not* of this world: God's instrument whose word carries the force of divine law. At one point in "Lepanto," James makes the ambiguous statement that "what by Martiall force was done / My pen presumes to write" (James

lines 583-4). On one level, he means that in the work he attempts to describe in writing the naval engagement at Lepanto, but on another, he means that his pen has a martial force of its own. By publishing "Lepanto" in Scotland, he puts this martial force to work at defining his kingship, and it is a measure of the poem's success that he will again put "Lepanto" to work by allowing the *Exercises* to be published in 1603 shortly after his accession to the English throne (Craigie, Introduction 1: lxxxv-lxxxvii).

In the 1591 volume entitled the *Exercises*, James does exactly that—*exercises* his developing power as a poetic and political ruler. Serving out his poetic apprenticeship seven years after the publication of the *Prentise*, he now considers himself a master poet. By translating du Bartas' "Furies," he demonstrates that he is now capable of engaging with and translating more involved texts than before. At the same time, following du Bartas' original, he argues that poets and kings have a divinely ordained power to restore God's order on earth after its disruption by Adam and his descendants. As a double figure—both poet *and* king—he believes that he is uniquely qualified to function as God's intermediary on earth. In "Lepanto," which functions as a sort of poetic "masterpiece" that qualifies him as a master, James further explores his poetic authority by building upon the poetic persona that he has begun to define for himself in the "Fvries." Making it clear from the complete title that he is the author of the work, through the rest of the text he confidently portrays himself as a textual authority such as those with whom he engaged as a youth; he is an internationalist scholar and poet upon whose original work others such as du Bartas must draw in composing their own texts. Focusing on the Christian rather than specifically Catholic nature of the victory over the Turks, James further defines himself as a Protestant champion who nonetheless advocates a conciliatory, engaging, and inclusive approach to religion. Most importantly, he portrays the Christian victory as a vindication of the divine order: the work of God who preserves that order by ordaining "Christian Princes" such as James to rule on earth in his stead. Craigie argues that the two major poems contained in the *Exercises* "set the seal on the

reputation of King James as a poet within Great Britain" (Craigie, Introduction 1: xlvii). Even more, they set the seal on his Scottish kingship—and prefigured his English one—by defining him as a textually sensitive divine-right monarch possessed of tremendous creative and mediating powers.

Although scholars seeking to trace the development and articulation of James's political thought have devoted a considerable amount of critical study to his prose treatises, they have traditionally ignored the role that his volumes of published poetry played in defining his kingship. Antonia Fraser argues that James's poetic writings were merely "diversions for himself" (47), and Thomas McCrie states that "when he should have been learning the art of government [James] was serving an apprenticeship to the muses" (1: 260). Fraser and McCrie overlook the fact that James's "apprenticeship to the muses" as both poet and patron was not merely a "diversion," but in fact *was* part of his political education, and constituted a means both of exercising his increasing monarchical powers of creativity, dialogical engagement, and mediation, and of exploring the concepts of textual control and the divine right of kings. But a number of scholars have recently begun to examine the ways in which James's patronage and poetry contributed to his Scottish kingship. Kevin Sharpe notes that "all James's writings were penned as acts of government" ("Writ" 124) because they allowed him to develop and exercise in his poetic circle—and even in a public forum—literary skills that he would require throughout his life in dealing with his religious and secular subjects. And in a statement related to James's poetic writings in particular, Sandra Bell argues that James's volumes of poetry "are counterparts to the prose treatises in their attempt to legitimate the authority of the monarchy in a country where that authority was in doubt" (193).

Yet even these critics do not go far enough in delineating the importance of James's poetry to his transition from political apprentice to master. Robert Appelbaum examines how one particular work—"Lepanto"—reflects James's desire to be a peacemaker, but "misses the boat" with his assessment of "Lepanto" and of James's poetic enterprise as a

whole. Despite his efforts to relate James's poetry to his political intentions, he invalidates his own argument by drawing an artificial distinction between James's "literary texts" and the texts that he composed in his "official capacity of king" (345-6). He even goes so far as to argue that James believed that "the royal poet is to be attended to as any other poet," and that as a result, his poetry really had little to do with the practice of kingship:

The relative autonomy of poetic writing was what attracted the king to it, since this autonomy allowed him to try on other identities and speak in other capacities. (346-7)

This analysis, however, scarcely moves beyond Fraser's argument that poetry was a diversion for James. Basically, Appelbaum argues that James took an interest in writing poetry because it allowed him to divorce himself from his identity as king and function—even for a brief time—as a "regular" poet. This could not be any further from the truth. Far from being divorced from it, James's identity as poet was intricately bound up in his identity as king, and actually helped to create it.

Bell assesses the political significance of James's literary involvement more accurately than Appelbaum by stating that during James's Scottish rule, "poetry became part of statecraft" (193). To some degree she is correct, but for James, poetry was more than a *part* of statecraft. His appropriately titled 1616 volume of collected *Workes* demonstrates that in both Scotland and England, he considered wordcraft—and particularly poetry—to be an occupation that was the very essence of statecraft itself. In an attempt to provide an interpretive framework for James's poetry, Bell argues that his status as monarch infuses his poetry and gives it meaning:

The relationship of monarch-subject is meant to inform the relationship of poet-reader, and the duty required of the subject should create an obedient and respectful reader. (202)

In fact, the reverse is true. James's status as poet makes his monarchy meaningful. Consequently, the relationship of poet to reader informs the relationship between monarch and subject, for James finds in the author's control of his material a model for the monarch's control of his subjects. James's increasing control over his poetic output during the course of his two volumes of verse—his movement from lyric poet to ambitious translator and theorist to composer of an epic work—prefigures his increasing control over Scottish political and religious affairs. Jonathan Goldberg most perceptively identifies the significance of James's poetic practice when he states that James's poems exercise not just "the discourse of power," but also "the power of discourse" (18). As a patron, poet, and prose theorist—and ultimately, as the ostensible controller of God's Word through his supervision of the King James Bible translation—James gradually harnessed and mastered this power of the text and thereby defined his kingship for himself and for his subjects at crucial times in both his Scottish and English rules.

Notes.

¹This quotation from the dedication to James Melville's 1598 book of poetry—quoted on page 479 of David Irving's *The History of Scottish Poetry* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1861)—exaggerates James's poetic prowess according to the panegyric convention of the time. In pointing out James's unusual position as both prince and poet, however, it draws a strong connection between James's poetry and his politics and is thus a critical as well as an honorific statement.

**Chapter 6. "Where the Word of a King Is, There Is Power"¹: The King James Bible
as James VI and I's Definitive Monarchical Text**

In 1616 James authorised the publication of his *Workes*, a collection of his major political writings that includes the *Daemonologie*, *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, and *Basilicon Doron*.² The very act of gathering his diverse publications together in a comprehensive text—something that Ben Jonson did in the same year with his own *Workes*, but which is unique to James as king—was one akin to writing his memoirs, implying that by 1616 James considered his work as monarch to be virtually complete, and his legacy as author to be secure. In his dedication to the text, James Montague, the actual editor of the work, tells Prince Charles that his monarchical inheritance from James “consists as much in the WORKES of his Royall *Vertues* as in the wealth of his mighty *Kingdomes*” (“Epistle” a3r-v). When he emphasised that James’s real *Basilicon Doron* or “kingly gift” to his son was a textual as much as a material one, Montague—who had previously served James both as a Bible translator after 1604 and as Bishop of Bath and Wells after 1608 (A.W. Pollard, *Records* 52)—evidently spoke with royal sanction; in the same year that the *Workes* were published, the king elevated Montague to the position of Bishop of Winchester.

When considering James’s English rule, one must address a specific question: what transpired between 1603 and 1616 that allowed James to consider himself to be not a monarch still seeking to justify his tenuous claim in England, but rather one whose primary concern was to pass on a legacy to his subjects and to his potential heir? As is often the case with James, the answer lies at least partly in his experience as Scottish king. In Scotland, he had relied heavily on the text both to define for himself and to convey to others his function as an authoritative monarch ruling with God’s sanction. Similarly, from the beginning of his reign in England he used his published works as a

means of textually creating and articulating a vision of his kingship and thereby authorising his rule.³ A cursory examination of James's publications as listed in Pollard and Redgrave's *Short-Title Catalogue* reveals that in the first two years of his English rule, the Stationers' Register authorised the republication of several of his Scottish works as well as the printing of an original English text. A new edition of "Lepanto" as well as two new editions and one reissue of the *Daemonologie* were published in 1603, and three editions of *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* appeared that same year. Even more significantly, despite the fact that in *Basilicon Doron* James argues that he "speake[s] nothing of the state of England" and does not intend the text for "English-men" who owe him no allegiance (11; 8), the nine editions of the work published in 1603 and 1604 constitute a deliberate attempt to define himself for his English subjects as an already-established political theorist and inviolable divine-right monarch. And in 1604, James published an original work—*A Counterblaste to Tobacco*—in which he expressed concern for the physical and moral welfare of his subjects and thus portrayed himself as the sort of *pater patriae* that he had tried to become in Scotland. But this flurry of publishing activity early in the reign was largely a short-term measure that James used to familiarise his English subjects with their Scottish monarch and his text-based practice of rule. Based on his literary and monarchical experience, he believed that reissuing texts written in Scotland and writing a short tract against tobacco would not define him in the long term as an authoritative English monarch. Instead, he needed to compose or at least patronise a *magnum opus*, a work that encompassed the disciplines of poetry, history, morality, law, and politics in which he had already been published. Not wishing to rest on his Scottish literary laurels, in 1604 James embarked upon his most ambitious and definitive act of textual monarchy: supervising a new English translation of the Bible. Unprecedented in scope and focus, this translation was for James a statement of learned fitness for rule which aligned his textual and monarchical authority with the power that really counted for an avowed divine-right monarch: God.

It is fitting that the 1611 translation of what is commonly known as the "Authorised Version" or the "King James Bible" ultimately would take seven years to complete—the traditional length of a trade apprenticeship. In keeping with the metaphor by which James had understood his Scottish literary and political enterprise, the text was his English masterpiece, the work whose completion signalled his transition from apprentice to master poet and monarch of England, and perhaps more importantly, of Great Britain. Kevin Sharpe argues that "James I's patronage of a new authorized version of the Bible—the King James Bible—was as much an act of power as of piety" ("Writ" 118), a statement that requires qualification. James was more than an idle patron of the work, for in many ways, the translation was a natural extension of his Scottish textual experience as student, patron, translator, and author. By "authoring" the text in the sense of publicly planning, sponsoring, supervising, and even joining its entire translation process, he actively engaged with the printed word—or more specifically the printed *Word*—in order to define himself as a creative, adjudicating, controlling, mediating, and divinely ordained political and religious ruler. And it is a testament to the defining and empowering nature of James's dialogical engagement with the text that even today people know the translation not so much by its official title, the Holy Bible, as by its unofficial one: the King James Bible. As the title "King James Bible" suggests, James as king is inextricably intertwined with the Bible; the translation is not just the *Authorised Version*, but also the *Authorising Version*, a text whose origins, execution, and iconography helped to define James as king and bring him to the point where by 1616 he could consider his literary and monarchical "workes" to be all but complete.

As originator of the King James Bible translation—particularly through his well-publicised role in the decision at Hampton Court to begin a comprehensive translation project—James defined himself as a creative, engaging, and mediating monarch committed to political and religious unity. But before he actively involved himself in Bible translation in England, he had already established himself in Scotland as

a mediator of God's Word. He had written several biblical commentaries, and had translated Psalm 104 into Scots as part of the 1584 *Prentise* volume. Moreover, in his 1591 *Exercises* he had indicated that his involvement in biblical translation had only just begun, for in the preface to the work, he directly promises the reader that he will eventually publish "such number of the PSALMES, as I haue perfited" ("Avthovr" 100). At the May 1601 Burntisland General Assembly, James went even further by enthusiastically supporting a motion proposing a new translation of the complete Bible. He even provided examples of "sundry escapes in the common Translation" that rendered the current text inaccurate. Although he argued that a new translation would bring great honour to the Kirk, the fact that his support of the project "bred not little admiration in the whole Assembly" (Spottiswoode 466) demonstrates that he was aware of the populist monarchical benefits of pursuing such a translation. The Assembly passed the motion and made preliminary plans to divide translation duties among "such of the brethren as were most skill'd in the languages, . . . but nothing was done" to begin, much less complete, the proposed Scottish translation (466). Nonetheless, through his writings and his dealings with the General Assembly in Scotland, James had publicly demonstrated himself to be an advocate of vernacular Bible translation, and early in his English rule, he would take great care to make it known that he was the originating force behind the new English translation of the Bible.

The events surrounding the Millenary Petition and the January 1604 Hampton Court Conference—and in particular the account of them provided in Miles Smith's preface to the 1611 Bible itself—characterise the King James Bible as the product of James's intense and admirable desire to engage in dialogue with and mediate between opposing factions for the sake of national unity. In fact, at the very beginning of his English reign—when he travelled from Edinburgh to London for his coronation—James found in the demands of the Millenary Petitioners a means of demonstrating his skills of dialogue and mediation. A number of Puritan clergymen, hoping for reforms in the Church of England under

James since they "mistakenly supposed that a Scottish king would have Calvinist sympathies," intercepted the new king on his way to London in the summer of 1603. Professing their loyalty to king and country—a tactic often used by the Melvilles, whom James valued as a principled opposition—the ministers presented James with the "Millenary Petition," a document that condemned non-biblical practices in the Church of England such as the use of a ring in the marriage ceremony and the wearing of Romish vestments by the clergy. In addition, the petition requested a formal meeting between king and clergy to discuss even wider Church reforms, and most significantly, it recommended that the Church undertake a new translation of the Bible (Partridge 105; McGrath 150-1). The petition and its signatories were widely condemned in high ecclesiastical circles; John Whitgift, the current Archbishop of Canterbury, and his eventual successor, the Bishop of London Richard Bancroft, both denounced the document as seditious, as did the universities of Oxford and Cambridge (Bobrick 204). But according to the Bible translator Miles Smith, at the highest ecclesiastical level—that of the king—the petitioners met with considerable success. As his dealings with the Melvilles have shown, James considered dialogue with loyal subjects to be an invaluable political strategy, and having previously shown an interest in a new Bible translation, "upon the importunate petitions of the Puritans, at his Majesties comming to this Crown" he announced in the fall of 1603 that in the following year he would confer with some of the petitioners at Hampton Court for the purpose of "hearing their complaints" (M. Smith, "Translators" 233). At the beginning of his English reign, then, James took advantage of a difficult situation in order to define himself as an engaging monarch committed to the *via media* in matters of religion. More importantly, Miles Smith argues that from the start, James was also committed to—and was in fact the driving force behind—the creation of a new Bible translation.

The events of the January 1604 Hampton Court conference—particularly as recorded in two contemporary texts, Smith's preface to the published Bible and the account of

William Barlow, then Dean of Chester—defined James early in his new reign as a mediating monarch fully aware of the power of the written text. The origins and organisation of the conference were testaments to James's love for dialogue and conciliation. In a general sense, the conference grew out of a spirit of mediation in that its primary impetus was James's desire to entertain or at least address publicly what he saw as the constructive criticism of the Puritan Millenary Petitioners. But the organisation of the conference itself even more clearly defined James for his new subjects as a monarch committed to engaging with and mediating between opposing factions. When the three-day conference began on 14 January 1604, James ensured that its delegates comprised a relatively balanced group of both established and reforming ecclesiastics. Nineteen Church of England bishops and deans were in attendance, as well as four hand-picked men of Puritan sympathy: John Knewstubs and Thomas Sparke from Oxford University; Laurence Chatterton, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; and John Reynolds, president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (Bobrick 210). Since the Puritan clerics were greatly outnumbered by their High Church counterparts, and since James did not allow the four reformers to participate in the first day of meetings (209), the conference was not in fact as balanced and equitable an affair as it initially appeared. But even if in reality the opposing ecclesiastical factions were neither as balanced as the reformers might have hoped, nor as antagonistic as the epithet "Puritan" might imply, what mattered for James was that he *appear* to be an equitable and engaging monarch who initiated the conference out of his admirable desire to bring the Church to a mediated and peaceful consensus.

To signal his unwillingness to take sides, James seated himself directly between the two religious factions in his Privy Chamber, and even reprimanded the Bishop of London Richard Bancroft for interrupting Reynolds as the dissenting minister criticised the Anglican rite of confirmation (Bobrick 210-11). John Spottiswoode records that during the debates at the conference, "the King did shew such knowledge, and readiness, as bred

not a small admiration in the hearers" on both sides (479); at the very least, by his relatively unbiased handling of the disputation James demonstrated a willingness to engage openly and sincerely with his critics, as well as an authority born out of his apparent ability to moderate and resolve sensitive ecclesiastical disputes. In short, "throughout the conference [James] saw his role as that of chairman, inviting opposing bodies to air their views" in order to reach a tenuous religious consensus (Fraser 104). As a figure able to negotiate a constructive ecclesiastical settlement by reconciling opposing churchmen, at the conference James began to occupy what he believed to be the position of real power: that of the mediator and peacemaker whose skill in the art of mediation both reflects and enhances monarchical authority.

On the second day of the conference James enthusiastically supported one of the Puritan demands—a new English translation of the Bible—and thereby defined himself as the *author* of what would become the King James Bible. Although James did not actually propose the translation himself, William Barlow and Miles Smith give him full credit for initiating the project and ensuring that unlike the unfulfilled Burntisland proposal, this particular translation came to fruition. Barlow, the Dean of Chester who was present at the 16 January meeting of the delegates, records that John Reynolds initiated the idea of a new translation:

He moued his Maiestie, that there might bee a newe translation of the Bible, because, those which were allowed in the raignes of Henrie the eight, and Edward the sixt, were corrupt and not aunswerable to the truth of the Originall.

(A.W. Pollard, *Records* 46)

Barlow then states that since "hee could neuer yet, see a Bible well translated in English," James decided "that some especiall paines should be taken in that behalfe for one vniforme translation" (46). While Barlow credits Reynolds with the original idea before detailing James's decision to act upon Reynolds' request, Miles Smith goes even further in portraying the translation project as James's idea from the start. In his preface,

Smith tells the reader of the King James Bible directly that "the very Historicall trueth" is that when John Reynolds led the dissenting ministers in condemning the Book of Common Prayer because it subscribed to "a most corrupted translation" of the Bible, James took immediate steps "to satisfie [his] scrupulous Brethren" and moderate their disaffection:

Although [the ministers' criticism] was judged to be but a very poor and emptie shift; yet even hereupon did his Majestie begin to bethink himself of the good that might ensue by a new translation, and presently after gave order for this Translation which is now presented unto thee." ("Translators" 233)

In general, Barlow and Smith agree with the official assessment of Bishop of Winchester Thomas Bilson in his dedication to the published Bible: as either enthusiastic supporter or actual originator of the project, James was "the principal Mover and Author of the work" (6).

In England the time-honoured 1408 Constitutions of Oxford had quite explicitly outlawed the unauthorised translation of the Bible into English. In Latin comprised of enough cognates so as to render the text comprehensible even to someone who understood vernacular English only, the order warned:

Scriptura sacra non transferatur in linguam vulgarem nec translata interpretur donec rite fuerit examinata sub pena excommunicationis et nota hereseos. (A.W. Pollard, *Records* 79)

But the "pain of excommunication and the stigma of heresy"⁴ were not all that a vernacular Bible could bring upon its translator. On the Continent and in England, vernacular Bible translation had been "illegal, dangerous, and ultimately fatal" for many (McGrath 88), including William Tyndale, who paid with his life for translating the Scriptures into English. But Rick Bowers points out in his examination of Thomas Phaer's vernacular works that by the mid-1500s—particularly after Henry VIII authorised Miles Coverdale's Great Bible for use in the Church—it was becoming increasingly

apparent that as an evolving language of authority, "English would be the way of the future" ("Phaer" 30). Bowers argues that by departing from "received channels of Latin authority to branch out in a variety of disciplines through the assertion of vernacular English," Phaer "registers himself as a significant agent of cultural change" (38). By making a similar departure from the received text, James and his clerics were effecting cultural change in a massive way through a Bible translation authorised at the highest political level.

Already a significant agent of cultural change since he was a Scottish king who was now the first member of a new English monarchical dynasty, James sought to register textually and thus define for his new subjects his unique identity as English king. Bowers states that with his mid-sixteenth-century vernacular writings, Phaer "insists on an achieved cultural identity that is English *and* authoritative" (27). Paradoxically, the classically educated James viewed his own identity in a similar fashion, for he had long seen engagement with the vernacular as a means of defining his monarchical authority. Despite his otherwise strongly formative humanist training under the classical scholar and poet Buchanan, he had composed vernacular poetry in Scotland, and had even written a set of "Revlis" that he intended both to govern and to advocate the writing of poetry in Scots. Although vernacular Bible translation "had anti-intellectual implications which worked at cross-purposes with the aims of classical scholars" (Eisenstein 360), by 1603 English was the emergent language of authority in England, and James considered the publication of a vernacular Bible to be a means of linguistically inscribing and defining his emergent English authority. Since vernacular Bibles "were rarely sponsored by Catholic rulers," and since they were by their very existence nationalistic statements that "reinforced extant linguistic frontiers" (Eisenstein 348; 358), patronising the new Bible was for James a firm statement of his commitment both to Protestantism and to England. By engaging with the Millenary Petitioners and with the delegates at the Hampton Court Conference, and by originating—or at least eagerly supporting—a new

translation of the Bible in response to the Puritan ministers' ecclesiastical concerns, James gave the new Bible an authorisation that Wycliffe and Tyndale had not received, and most significantly, infused the text with an enthusiasm that even Henry VIII had not displayed:

However eager Henry VIII may have been to support English versions of the Bible for personal and political reasons, he never for a moment showed any interest in the inception and progress of any of the translations that appeared in his reign, as James did in the case of the 1611 Bible. (Daiches 71)

Henry had unlocked the door to the power of English Bible translation, but James kicked it wide open.

James's enthusiasm for the translation, from the project's beginning at the Hampton Court Conference to its ultimate completion in 1611, arose out of his desire to define himself as king for his new subjects early in his English reign. Being—or being perceived to be—the “author” of the Bible from the project's very inception helped to define James as king of England in a number of ways. Firmly convinced from his Scottish experience that maintaining a dialogue with his contentious subjects was a means both of obtaining potentially valuable advice and of portraying himself to others as a mediating and benign authority, James engaged with his critics on his journey from Edinburgh to London and at Hampton Court. Since he believed that “being a king was about give and take,” and since he “want[ed] to be seen to be conciliatory and pacific” as king (McGrath 160-1), James initiated—or at least supported—a new Bible translation in order to demonstrate to his subjects his willingness to engage both with others and with the written text. When he engaged with and mediated between the Puritan ministers and the more moderate Anglican churchmen at Hampton Court, James in general hoped “to preserve the vested interests of the Church of England against Catholics on the one hand, and Puritans on the other” (164), and thereby define himself as a ruler committed to following the *via media*. And when he supported and apparently originated the resulting translation project, James

defined himself even more clearly as a monarch in control of the national religion, since "the production, at the king's initiative, of a new English translation of the Bible would reinforce the image of the king as the political and spiritual leader of his people" (171). Having been a published author in Scotland, James was keenly aware that his "authorship" of a new Bible translation gave him the opportunity "of acquiring a new literary prestige, after which he always hankered" (Partridge 105). More importantly, he was also aware that his monarchical authority was largely a textual one, and that by basically willing the new Bible into existence at Hampton Court, he could make a firm statement of his creative power as divinely ordained monarch. In a resounding rhetorical question, Miles Smith best conveys exactly how central a monarchically initiated Bible was to the development of James's English royal authority: "And what can the King commaund to be done, that will bring him more true honour then this?" (233).

But James realised that the general act of commanding a new English translation of the Bible was not enough in itself to characterise him as an authoritative monarch. To define himself as a controlling, mediating, and adjudicating king, he must become the "principal author" of the translation and the driving force behind its successful execution. Consequently, James involved himself at almost every level of the new Bible's organisation and execution. As active patron he decided upon and enforced a general translation strategy. He arranged funding for the project, and approved the selection of specific translating committees along with the creation of an exacting set of translation rules. He took pains to engage with the translators and to invest the entire project with a sense of balance. And finally, he personally sanctioned the finished product as being a work fit for use in Anglican churches. In short, "no king other than James had ever shown so much interest in a Bible translation" (Opfell 115). The reason lies in Miles Smith's preface to the Bible, where he anatomises James's role in the nation's ecclesiastical health:

It doth certainly belong unto Kings, yea, it doth specially belong unto them, to have care of Religion, yea, to know it aright, yea, to professe it zealously, yea, to promote it to the uttermost of their power. (223)

The series of commas and revisions in Smith's statement heightens the importance of the final phrase and emphasises what James believes to be monarchs' most significant duty with respect to religion: "to promote it to the uttermost of their power." Yet this phrase is inherently ambiguous, for it has two quite contradictory meanings. On the surface, it means that a monarch must promote religion *with* all his power, but it also means that a monarch must promote religion *for the sake of* his power. James was aware enough to put the phrase's two meanings in dialogue with each other to both his and England's advantage. He advocated the Bible translation with all of his royal authority, and at the same time very publicly originated, executed, and promoted the translation for the sake of his creative, mediating, and divinely ordained power as monarch.

Immediately after having ordered a new Bible translation, James took general control of the project, if contemporary accounts are any indication. Smith states that James, aware of his divinely ordained role as "a Souldier, or rather a Captain" (223), actively proceeded with the translation. Moreover, the clear distinction that Smith draws between military ranks defines the intermediary but still authoritative role that James believed he must assume in the translation process. As neither a common soldier nor a commanding general, but rather as a captain, James is an intermediary figure who directs others in the execution of commands from above; similarly, as neither a common human nor a god, but as a divine-right monarch "sanctified from the womb, and endued with a principall portion of Gods spirit" (225), James directs humans according to the will of his general, God. Aware of his divinely ordained role in promoting religion, Smith says, James proceeded with the translation project "according to the singular wisdom given unto him by God, and the rare learning and experience that he [had] attained unto" (223). Barlow

sets out in more concrete terms the general plan that James outlined at Hampton Court for the translation process. He records that James ordered the translation

to bee done by the best learned in both the Vniuersities, after them to be reuiewed by the Bishops, and the chiefe learned of the Church; from them to bee presented to the *Priuie-Councell*; and lastly to bee ratified by his *Royall authoritie*. (A.W. Pollard, *Records* 46)

This schema is significant for a couple of reasons. The fact that it maintains an ecclesiastical hierarchy with the monarch at the top means that as a "captain," James does in fact function as head of the Anglican Church more like a commanding general than a soldier. Distant from the action, he is nonetheless responsible for providing orders for his foot-soldiers, and the very process of translation and revision that his "soldiers" undertake is itself a fundamental statement of his authority over the members of the Church. And on a more basic level, by developing this ordered plan of execution for the project, James made a statement of his creative and controlling power as author and patron.

He further demonstrated this power by providing financial support to the Bible translators. Wanting to be the Bible's primary patron, but faced with the fundamental problem of paying for the actual translation, James found creative ways—although not entirely authoritative ones—to finance the project. Initially, he asked the Anglican episcopacy to compensate the translators and printer for their efforts, but the bishops were unwilling to pay for the new translation out of their own pockets. Near the project's completion, James found an effective but somewhat disempowering way to defray some of the text's cost by arranging for the printer, Robert Barker, to pay 3500 pounds toward the translators' wages in return for the exclusive right to sell and distribute the finished Bible (Partridge 105-6). One of the translators, John Bois, reports that out of this fund, Barker paid each of the twelve members of the final revising committee a stipend of thirty shillings per week for the roughly nine months that the group met in 1610 to

perform final textual revisions at Stationers' Hall in London (Allen 140-1)—a bargain price for control over the publication of God's Word, but a priceless bit of mediation on James's part.

In a 22 July 1604 letter to Archbishop of Canterbury Richard Bancroft, James outlines a more empowering method of patronising the work, one which rather than forfeiting royal control of the text, actually promised to breed loyalty in the translators and at the same time reinforce royal authority over the Anglican clergy. In this letter which he instructs Bancroft to reproduce and circulate among the episcopacy, James expresses regret to Bancroft that many of the fifty-four translators have ecclesiastical livings that are "far unmeet for men of their deserts, and yet we of ourself in any convenient time cannot well remedy it" (A.W. Pollard, *Records* 331). He proposes to Bancroft a long-term solution—eventual ecclesiastical preferment for the translators—that might be effected at a more "convenient" pace:

"When any prebend or parsonage, being rated in our book of taxations, the prebend to twenty pound at the least and the parsonage to the like sum and upwards, shall next upon any occasion happen to be void . . . we may commend for the same some such of the learned men, as we shall think fit to be preferred unto it." (A.W. Pollard, *Records* 332)

In his introduction to this reproduced letter, Bancroft takes care to point out to his fellow bishops "how careful his majesty is for the providing of livings for these learned men" (333), and a cursory glance at the later preferment history of several of the translators bears this out: the Dean of Westminster Lancelot Andrewes became Bishop of Chichester in 1605 and Bishop of Winchester in 1619; George Abbot received several preferments before becoming Archbishop of Canterbury in 1611; William Barlow, the composer of the Bible's dedication, was promoted from Dean of Chester to Bishop of Rochester in 1605; and despite having Puritan leanings, on the strength of his preface to the Bible Miles Smith became Bishop of Gloucester in 1612 (A.W. Pollard, *Records* 49-53). As

James Montague's promotion after writing the preface to James's 1616 *Workes* would later demonstrate, James ensured that those who performed his work would get "the works" in ecclesiastical terms. The translation had to this point been chronically underfunded to the extent the translators received "nothing before but, the self-rewarding, ingenious industry" of having participated in the project, according to John Bois's contemporary biographer, Anthony Walker (Allen 141). But by paying the translators through a deferral system that both rewarded his clergy and bred loyalty in them, James generally managed to maintain financial control of the translation and at the same time reinforce his position as the head of the Church upon whom others depended for their livelihood.

As patron, James took great pains to define his inviolable creative power by supporting the translation project not just in a sporadic financial manner, but also in a consistent public one. Numerous contemporary sources record that after originating the project, James kept it alive in the face of opposition from others. Willam Barlow records that Richard Bancroft—Bishop of London and *de facto* Archbishop of Canterbury at the Hampton Court Conference due to John Whitgift's illness—originally objected to the prospect of undertaking a new translation, saying that "if euery mans humour should be followed, there would be no ende of translating" (A.W. Pollard, *Records* 46)—or of English biblical interpretation. James, however, overruled this prescient if somewhat conservative Archbishop-to-be, and therefore from the very beginning closely linked his monarchical authority with the work's completion. Indeed, Pollard and Redgrave's *Short-Title Catalogue* reveals an early seventeenth-century explosion of meditational and devotional English literature by amateur scholars and minor churchmen. With the publication of the new Bible, James acknowledged the volatile mixture of political, religious, and cultural power inherent in a vernacular translation, and authorised a new era of English scriptural interpretation and dialogue in which many voices would be heard. And Miles Smith makes a point in his preface of describing James's efforts to

bring the text to fruition despite the opposition of others such as Bancroft. He uses the biblical example of Solomon's temple to argue that divinely sanctioned rulers must glorify God with their works regardless of the opposition that they face (222). In case the reader does not see the connection that he draws between the biblical and the modern-day Solomon, Smith more bluntly states that James's "Royall heart was not daunted or discouraged" even though by ordering the translation the king set himself—and one could argue the Bible itself—"upon a stage to be glouted upon by every evill eye" (223).

In his dedication to the Bible, Thomas Bilson further argues that by sheer force of will—divine will—James overcame his critics and brought the new Bible into being. Bilson states that "the setting of that bright *Occidental Star*, Queen *Elizabeth*" ushered in an "unsettled State" in which "men should have been in doubt which way they were to walk." The "appearance of Your Majesty, as of the *Sun* in his strength," however, rectified the situation, for "out of deep judgment" James recognised the need for a uniform translation of the Bible, and was driven by "the vehement and perpetuated desire of the accomplishing and publishing of this work." Bilson adds that James "did never desist to urge and to excite those" performing the actual translation, and proceeded "with the confidence and resolution of a Man in maintaining the truth of Christ, and propagating it far and near" through the text (5). He praises James's "allowance and acceptance" of the translators' efforts, and thanks him for the "powerful protection" he has afforded the project. Bilson closes by dedicating the text to James not just as "King and Sovereign," but also as "the principal Mover and Author of the work" (6) who both conceptualised and actualised the new translation. Regardless of the degree to which James actually took a personal hand in motivating the translators and overcoming the difficulties facing the project, contemporary published accounts portray him as an active patron driving the project forward, a monarch who "under God, is the author of [his subjects'] immediate happiness" (5).

James showed himself to be a mediating and adjudicating author of his subjects' happiness by personally organising several key aspects of the translation's execution. He took it upon himself, for example, to select and instruct those in charge of producing the new Bible. Bancroft's initial reservations notwithstanding, James delegated considerable authority to the bishop by appointing him "chief overseer and [prosecutor of the work] under his Majestie" (Smith, "Translators" 237). The king then chose three head translators—John Harding of Oxford University, Edward Lively of Cambridge University, and Lancelot Andrewes, the Dean of Westminster—who were responsible for submitting to him a list of potential translators. As it had been in Scotland when he assigned literary tasks to each of his Castalian poets, the very act of delegating authority to the translators—especially his divinely ordained authority to safeguard the text of the Bible—was in itself a statement of his power as monarch.

In his letter to Bancroft dated 22 July 1604, James states that from this list, he has selected the translators, probably with the help of Harding, Lively, and Andrewes, since he was a relative newcomer to England: "we have appointed certain learned men, to the number of four and fifty, for the translating of the Bible" (A.W. Pollard, *Records* 331). Having previously authored a set of "Revlis and Cautelis to be obseruit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie," James appears also to have taken an active role in crafting the Bible translators' rules of engagement. After receiving James's letter, Bancroft then provided the fifty-four men with a list of fifteen "rules to be observed in the Translation of the Bible," rules that were "sanctioned, if they were not indeed drawn up by James himself" (Bruce 98). In light of James's frequent disputations with the Presbyterians in Scotland, the content of the list further indicates his involvement in the composition of the rules. Rule three, for example, addresses Presbyterianism directly by forbidding the use of the term "congregation" in place of "church" (A.W. Pollard, *Records* 53),⁵ and rule six eliminates a practice common in what James called "the worst of all" translations, the Geneva Bible, by dictating that "No Marginal Notes at all [are] to be affixed, but only for

the Explanation of the *Hebrew* or *Greek* Words, which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be express'd in the Text" (46; 54).⁶ The emphasis on dialogue in the rules is particularly Jacobean; rules eight through twelve state that each translator is to compare his work to that of the others in his company, and the company in turn is to send its completed work to each of the other translating teams for examination. Points of contention are to be resolved with the help of "any Learned Man in the Land" to whom the translators choose to appeal. Dialogue between the translators whose work is "to be consider'd of seriously and judiciously" by their fellows is the foremost concern, and since the rules state that "His Majesty is very careful in this Point" (54), it is almost certain that if the king did not himself compile the list of rules, it was at least "drawn up by Bancroft and approved by James" (McGrath 173), firmly placing the king in control of the dialogical translation process.

Like the rules that governed its translation, the actual text of the Bible itself was probably drawn up by others and approved by James. The fact that James does not seem to have participated in the actual translation of the Bible except in a general supervisory role, however, does not detract from his perceived function as author of the new translation. His publicly demonstrated and acknowledged abilities as a linguistic and scriptural authority characterised him as a figure both willing and able to engage with others in the complicated task of translating the Scriptures out of their original sources. As a youth in Scotland, James had proven on several fronts the degree of his linguistic facility in the three primary languages of biblical transmission, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew: he had studied Greek under Young and Buchanan (Warner 30) and was thus fluent in the language of the original New Testament; as an eight-year-old child he had impressed Henry Killigrew with his ability to translate "a chapter of the Bible from Latin into French, and from French into English extempore" (Tytler 5: 13); and beginning in 1584, he translated over thirty of the Psalms into English verse, an enterprise that demonstrates a considerable knowledge of Old Testament Hebrew. Having served out an

apprenticeship in Scotland as a linguist and biblical translator, James was certainly capable in England of actively participating in the translation of the new Bible, for on scholarly and ecclesiastical grounds, he was an unprecedented English monarch: one whose public image mirrors his personal ability.

He was even more capable of working closely on the translation because he had proven himself to be a scholar with a unique sensitivity to the text. With his 1591 rendering of du Bartas' "Furies," for example, James demonstrated that he was not simply a literal translator, but was rather both a scholar and poet whose acute understanding of literary composition allowed him to negotiate constructively between accuracy and artistry. And his textual sensitivity was especially apparent with respect to the Bible. In Scotland he had engaged in countless ecclesiastical debates with the Melvilles, and after debating with him in 1588, even the Jesuit Father James Gordon was forced to admit that none could "use his arguments better nor quote the Scriptures and other authorities more effectively" than the king (Bingham, *James VI* 105). James had written a discourse upon the book of Revelation, and at the May 1601 Burntisland General Assembly, according to John Spottiswoode, he had "made it seen that he was no less conversant in the Scriptures, then they whose profession it was" (466). In England he continued to prove his abilities as a biblical scholar; as noted earlier, Spottiswoode records that at Hampton Court James's powers of argument impressed both sets of disputants. No direct evidence exists either to prove or to disprove James's participation in the *minutiae* of the translation process, although it is most probable that the fifty-four appointed translators performed the vast majority of the work. Yet the fifteen rules for translation emphasise the need for the translators to engage in dialogue with "any Learned Man in the Land" regarding points of contention in the original sources. James based much of his kingship upon his scholarly dialogue with others, had shown himself publicly to be capable of assisting in the translation project, and is acknowledged in Miles Smith's preface to the Bible to be a man of "singular wisdom" and "rare learning".

(223). In light of his qualifications, it is certainly possible that he acted in a consulting role during the translation process itself. But the argument as to whether or not James actually took a hand in translating parts of the Bible is moot. Given both his longstanding reputation as a biblical scholar and translator and the extent to which Smith credits him in the preface with originating the project, James *appeared* both to contemporary and later readers to have been a translator of the text. Moreover, as the metaphorical head of an army of translators, he led, organised, and commanded his inferiors who operated according to his will. The fact that the translation is commonly known today as the "King James Bible" is a testament to how completely the text defined James—and still defines him—as a monarch whose power resided in his ability as author to master the Bible text.

James mastered the Bible in another more obvious way: not just as one of the possible translators creating (or perhaps re-creating) the text itself, but as the final adjudicator who examined and approved the finished product. Barlow reports that when he ordered the new translation of the Bible, James stated that the completed text was to be "reuiewed by the Bishops, and chiefe learned of the Church" before proceeding to the Privy Council for further examination. After having passed this stage, the text was "lastly to bee ratified by his *Royall authoritie*" (A.W. Pollard, *Records* 46)—that is, examined and approved by the king. In fact, although James expressed a desire to review the finished product, no evidence exists to indicate that he actually did; the translation was put into final form by Smith and Bilson and examined by Bancroft, and no royal proclamation or Parliamentary statute ever officially authorised it (Butterworth 214). The fact that the text was theoretically to be sanctioned by James's "Royall authoritie," however, gave the text a close personal association with the king. Regardless of any official writ—one that at any rate might seem dogmatic and even Papal—James's prior approval as monarch and judge was sufficient to authorise the text. In the Bible's dedication, Bilson underlines this point by expressing his gratitude that the text has

received "approbation and patronage from so learned and judicious a Prince as Your Highness is" (6). The implication of Bilson's statement is clear: in his role as divinely ordained adjudicator, James has examined and judged the translation and given it his personal approval. In both contemporary and current versions of the text, the Bible's title page further articulates James's active involvement in studying the final translation and deeming it suitable, for it designates the text as "appointed to be read in churches"—appointed by the king as head of the Anglican Church, and unlike the chained Bibles of Tudor times, to be read in English everywhere by all who are capable. In case these statements of James's role as judge of the final text and purveyor of vernacular democracy are lost on the reader, Smith and Bilson note that in a metaphorical sense the translators have beaten out their work on an anvil (M. Smith, 239; Bilson 6). By making reference to James and the "smoky smiths" of his Scottish apprenticeship, they convey to the sensitive reader that the translators are apprentices deferring to the judgement of James, the master patron, translator, and acknowledged "author" of the text. And perhaps more importantly, they imply that by disseminating the new Bible, James has broken the forged links that had chained Tudor Bibles in the church, thus liberating the vernacular Scriptures to perform *work* in the hands of lay readers.

Organising the translators and dividing them into discrete companies further defined James as a mediating and controlling monarch. By dividing the translators into three general groups—one at Oxford, one at Cambridge, and one at Westminster—James took control of the general organisation of the project. And by subdividing these larger geographical groupings into several companies of specialised scholars, James exerted tactical control over the translators and their work. In fact, he divided the fifty-four translators into six separate companies in a very particular manner. Three companies dealt with the Hebrew Old Testament: the First Westminster Company translated Genesis to 2 Kings; the First Cambridge Company translated 1 Chronicles to the Song of Solomon; and the First Oxford Company translated Isaiah to Malachi. One company—the

Second Cambridge team—translated the Apocrypha, and two companies devoted themselves to the Greek New Testament: the Second Oxford Company translated the four Gospels, Acts, and Revelation, while the Second Westminster Company translated Romans through Jude (A.W. Pollard, *Records* 49-53). For James, the act of delegating such specific tasks to his obedient translators defined him as an authoritative monarch; just as his active patronage of the members of his “Castalian Band” of poets had imparted order to the literary and political realms in Scotland, his ability to control the actions of his Bible translators was a statement of his textual and ecclesiastical supremacy in England.

The translating companies were also a testament to James’s ability to unite disparate groups and put them to constructive use. The most recent English translation of the Bible authorised for use in the Anglican Church, the 1568 Bishops’ Bible, stood as a monument to a lack of organisation and focus. The text “was a combination of the work of different revisers,” something that in itself was not a fatal flaw; the fact that the individual translated portions of the work were “subject to little general discipline and no real general editorship” (Daiches 58), however, made the final product an inconsistent and largely unfocused text. Rather than a unified translation, the Bishops’ Bible was “really a conglomerate version, since little or no care, apparently, was given to coordinating the output of the sixteen or more churchmen who took part in its preparation” (Butterworth 177). Basically, the translators “worked in isolation, and there was no exchange of critical views on different methods of approach; the result was a lack of uniformity” (Partridge 87). When he devised his own translation strategy, James made himself the work’s “general editor” in the most literal military sense: a commander marshalling his ecclesiastical officers. He engaged intertextually with the Bishops’ Bible by encouraging a critical dialogue between translators so that his new version of the Bible would be what he called “one vniforme translation” (A.W. Pollard, *Records* 46). At several points, the rules of translation order the translators to consult with others: the other members of their

particular company; the members of other companies; and even other scholars not affiliated with any of the translating companies (54). In his letter to Bancroft, James expresses his desire that the "intended translation may have the help and furtherance of all our principal learned men within this our kingdom" (333). By actively bringing these diverse "learned men" together in an unprecedented and successful dialogue between English Bible translators, James fulfilled this desire, and defined himself as mediating authority able to unify disparate groups for the good of the nation. Even S.R. Gardiner concedes that despite the almost infinite possibility for disagreement between so many translators of different ecclesiastical leanings, in the Bible's production "all sectarian influences were banished, and all hostilities were mute" (Gardiner, *History* 1: 200)—an admission that is a further testament to James's reconciling power as monarch.

The general make-up of the six translating companies reflects James's belief in the *via media* as a means of reconciling opposing groups for constructive ends. Basing two translation companies at each of Oxford, Cambridge, and Westminster, for example, was a means of showing himself to be an unbiased authority who considered all possibilities:

By tradition, Oxford was associated for the most part with High Church and royalist sentiments; Cambridge with dissidents—reformers, martyrs, and exiles. Both were also, strictly speaking, secular institutions. Westminster, on the other hand, represented the clerical and legal aspects of the venture, for all the officials of the abbey were appointed by the sovereign, making it a sort of Cathedral of the Crown. (Bobrick 217)

The reasoned balance that James effected by creating a number of translating bodies, then, was not merely geographic; it was also institutional, ecclesiastical, and political. Religious and political affiliation aside, the general occupational composition of the committees also exhibited balance, for the companies contained a cross-section of English ecclesiastical figures: Regius professors and fellows from the university colleges, deans of cathedrals, and even rectors and vicars of smaller parishes. This ecclesiastical

balance in the general composition of the companies helped to define James as an unbiased monarch subscribing to the religious *via media*, and the resulting translation was to James an example of the benefit for the nation of his mediating and reconciling authority.

James defined himself as an advocate of the ecclesiastical *via media* through his selection of the specific translators for each of the individual companies. Having appealed to Andrewes, Lively, and Harding to supply him with a list of potential translators, he was careful to balance extremes in his final selections for each of the companies. The First Westminster Company most clearly demonstrates the religious balance with which James infused all six translating companies, for it was comprised of both orthodox and reforming members of the Church. Most notable on the Anglican side was Andrewes, who as Dean of Westminster and a sometime court preacher who had attended James at his coronation, was firmly positioned at England's ecclesiastical centre. A moderate figure and brilliant scholar who would in 1608 write the *Tortura Torti* in order to defend James and the oath of allegiance against the criticisms of Cardinal Bellarmine, Andrewes would later in James's reign become Bishop of Winchester (Opfell 27-31). Lest the orthodox Anglican position go unchallenged, James assigned a reforming cleric to the First Westminster Company: John Overall, Dean of St Paul's and Regius professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Unlike Andrewes, who would write in defense of the monarch, in his 1606 *Convocation Book* Overall assumed an almost Lutheran position by arguing that subjects were bound out of service to God to support any government coming to power in a lawful revolution. Although James suppressed Overall's book, he left the controversial cleric on the translation committee, and eventually rewarded his service as a translator by making him Bishop of Coventry and then of Norwich (32-3).

James ensured that the other companies had a similar sense of balance and mediation between extremes. In addition to Lively, whom the king had chosen to help compile a

list of translators, the First Cambridge Company had among its members Laurence Chatterton, the master of Emmanuel College who had been a representative of the Puritan faction at Hampton Court (Bobrick 226-7). And the First Oxford Company, while headed by the other figure who supplied James with a list of potential translators, John Harding, counted as one of its members John Reynolds, the president of Corpus Christi College who had acted "as the Puritan 'foreman' at the Hampton Court Conference" (Opfell 56). Although these are perhaps the most vivid examples of the contrasting figures whom James brought together as translators, James did extend this ecclesiastical balance to the Second Westminster, Cambridge, and Oxford Companies as well. Of the forty-seven known translators who initially comprised the six companies, roughly one quarter can be classified as having "had Puritan leanings" (Bobrick 217-8). In fact, even the actual number of translators that James specified to work on the project—fifty-four—was a figure intended to subscribe to the *via media*; in his preface to the reader, Miles Smith states that by James's design, the number of active translators was "not too many, lest one should trouble another; and yet many, lest many things haply might escape them" (238). Christopher Hill argues that in Tudor times, the English vernacular Bible had been "the battle-ground of several ideologies—English nationalist versus Roman Catholic, episcopalian versus presbyterian and sectarian" (Hill, *Revolution* 4). James's selection of the translators was an exercise in the *via media*, and his ability to bring peace to a battle-ground contested by such diverse and diametrically opposed ecclesiastics defined him for his new subjects as an unbiased and conciliatory monarch committed not just to accuracy in translation, but also to constructive dialogue for the sake of the nation's ecclesiastical unity.

By engaging intertextually with a balanced group of primary and secondary sources, the translators further established James's identity as an impartial judge and mediator willing to entertain alternative viewpoints. Although it is impossible to determine all of the classical texts that the translators consulted as they completed their work, the list of

known primary texts is extensive: four Hebrew versions of Old Testament; the Complutensian and Antwerp Polyglots; several Greek versions of the New Testament, including those produced by Erasmus and Beza; and even the Latin Vulgate which was the standard Catholic text (Price 273-4). By having his translators consult as wide a variety of classical works as possible, James sought to infuse the new translation with a comprehensiveness and balance not present in earlier vernacular translations. And theoretically, the King James Bible as a translation was to be itself a mediation between primary and secondary source material since the translators were to supplement their use of Hebrew and Greek sources by consulting near-contemporary biblical commentaries in the original languages. In his preface to the King James Bible, Miles Smith reports that to make their work as textually informed as possible, the translators consulted a wide variety of secondary biblical sources in ancient languages such as "*Chaldee, Hebrew, Syrian, Greek or Latine.*" The translators were to consult not just ancient sources, but also current commentaries and recent English Bible translations in order to maintain both accuracy with respect to the original and effective phrasing with respect to the vernacular, and to this end Smith reports that they also consulted more recent scholars in "*Spanish, French, Italian, or Dutch*" (239).

But the title page asserts that the King James Bible has not simply been "Newly Translated out of the Originall tongues." In addition, "the former Translations [have been] diligently compared and reuised by his Maiesties speciall Comandement." By 1611 over fifty "former Translations" existed in English (Partridge 5), and so in the rules governing the translation, James by necessity limited the number of English Bibles with which the translators were to compare their work. Although they were to use the 1568 Bishops' Bible as their principal English text, the translators were to consult with a cross-section of the other major vernacular versions: William Tyndale's translation of the New Testament and rendering of part of the Old; Miles Coverdale's 1535 revision of Tyndale's work; John Rogers' 1537 Matthew's Bible; Coverdale's authorised 1539 Great

Bible; even the 1560 Geneva Bible whose marginal notes had spurred James to command a new translation in the first place (A.W. Pollard, *Records* 54). Through the rules for translation, then, James ensured that his six companies engaged with the widest possible variety of works that comprised the classical and vernacular biblical heritage. By ordering his translators to make "one vniform translation" out of so many disparate primary and secondary texts (A.W. Pollard, *Records* 46), James sought to establish his identity in England as a judicious monarch committed to reasoned intertextual engagement with and mediation between the varied elements that comprised the ancient and more recent body of biblical texts.

As they engaged with this body of texts according to James's dicta, the translators defined James as a monarch who balanced elements of progressiveness and conservatism. By rejecting the example set by various English biblical "others," they invested the new translation—and James, its "author"—with a decidedly modern ethos. They did not rely heavily upon Coverdale's 1535 translation of the Bible for the simple fact that for the most part it was not actually a true translation. Rather than seamlessly rendering the original texts, Coverdale had revised Tyndale's New Testament, added to it Tyndale's sections of the Old Testament that had been published thus far, and filled the gaps with his own translations of Luther's 1534 German work. Consequently, Coverdale's 1535 Bible is not a particularly focused work, is not a complete translation *per se*, and does not exhibit "sustained critical engagement with the original Greek and especially the Hebrew texts" (McGrath 89-90). So aside from making more of Tyndale's translation available and providing some alternate phrasings, the Coverdale version had little to offer James's translators. For these reasons, it functioned as a sort of anti-Bible for the King James Bible translators in that it provided them with an example of how James believed that a Bible should *not* be translated. The 1537 Matthew's Bible provided a similar example, for it too was an amalgamation of several other texts: Tyndale's previously published works, unpublished material that Tyndale had entrusted

to John Rogers, and portions of Coverdale's Old Testament (Bobrick 148). And the Matthew's Bible set a precedent that James would ultimately overturn with his 1611 version of the Bible: like the 1560 Geneva Bible, it was a text whose copious explanatory notes annoyed a large number of readers because of their propensity to interpret Scripture (McGrath 92-3).

James and his translators demonstrated their progressive approach to both scholarship and religion by repudiating the approach taken by translators in other earlier renderings of the English Bible. Coverdale's 1539 Great Bible, the first translation in England to be authorised by the monarch, was "merely the revision of a compilation" since it was a revised version of the Matthew's Bible, albeit with some critical consultation of Latin Bible translations (Bobrick 149). Paradoxically, the translators moved beyond Coverdale's superficial rendering of the Bible by going back to the original texts, and through their close consideration of classical sources, demonstrated that they were on the cutting edge of both Renaissance humanist scholarship and the movement toward the printed vernacular. And since it was infused at every level with a sense of dialogue, the new translation was markedly different in its creation from earlier versions. The existence of several translating companies, for example, made its composition a more involved process than that of one-man translations such as Tyndale and Coverdale's versions. And the critical dialogue in which the translators engaged far surpassed that of the sixteen Bishops' Bible translators, who had basically "worked in isolation" from each other" (Partridge 87) before amalgamating their individual sections. As a focused text created by a mediated consensus between men of differing ecclesiastical stances, the King James Bible was a statement of national and religious unity, and was to James a testament to his power as monarch to engage his subjects—or at least his leading clerics—in an unprecedented critical and constructive dialogue. Through its numerous ecclesiastical and scholastic departures from its predecessors, it was a strong textual

statement of authority for a monarch who facilitated more than any other the print explosion of ecclesiastical literature in the early part of the seventeenth century.

Yet James's intertextual engagement with previous translations demonstrates his power as mediator by balancing this new approach to the text with conservative reliance upon the English biblical tradition. Although Tyndale's was an incomplete translation performed by an advocate of Lutheranism who condemned monarchical authority over the Church, in his rules for translation James did not dismiss it out of hand. Because James encouraged his translators to consult the work, and because so many other English Bible translations had been for the most part revisions of it, Tyndale's text is "now widely acknowledged as the most formative influence on the text of the King James Bible." Many of its memorable phrasings—"the powers that be" and "my brother's keeper," for example—are retained in the King James Bible (McGrath 67; 79). James's translators relied also upon Coverdale's 1539 Great Bible. Because he removed Rogers' controversial notes from the text, Coverdale provided a model for the translators, who followed James's order by trying to explain terminology but not interpret Scripture in their own annotations. And despite its strong Presbyterian leanings that helped drive James to order a new translation, William Whittingham's 1560 Geneva Bible provided another positive example for the translators. Whittingham had been the first translator in English to divide the books of the Bible into chapters and verses, and the King James translators infused their work with a sense of order by following the rigid organisational scheme that he had implemented (249). Moreover, since the Geneva Bible was "easily the most accurate and scholarly English translation of the Bible before the Authorized Version" (Daiches 51), the translators relied heavily on its text for comparative purposes—so heavily, in fact, that in his preface to the King James Bible, Miles Smith repeatedly quotes the Geneva translation rather than the Bible that he is actually introducing (McGrath 99).

In their most direct and significant engagement with a pre-existing English translation, James and his translators followed in several ways the standard set by the 1568 Bishops' Bible. The Bishops' Bible was not the best text upon which a monarch concerned with critical dialogue amongst translators could base his own translation enterprise, for it consisted of numerous individual revisions of Coverdale's 1539 Great Bible supplemented by translated passages from the original Hebrew and Greek (182). Yet it was not for James simply a text against which to define his own rendering of the Bible. In his instructions to the Bishops' Bible translators, Archbishop of Canterbury Matthew Parker had ordered them "to make no bitter notis vppon any text, or yet to set downe any determinacion in places of controversie" as Whittingham had done in the Geneva Bible (A.W. Pollard, *Records* 297). Given James's distaste for the Geneva Bible annotations, it is not surprising that he followed Parker's lead by specifically ordering his translators not to include any interpretive notes. He derived another part of his general execution strategy from Parker. The Bishops' Bible had been an unprecedented translation since it was completed not by one or two translators, but rather by a group of sixteen loosely affiliated bishops; by employing six closely related companies totalling fifty-four men, James followed but improved upon Parker's translation model. And the King James Bible translators physically engaged with the actual text of the Bishops' Bible by using it as a platform upon which to base their own work. Rather than write their new English translation upon blank pages, they instead annotated unbound folio copies of the Bishops' Bible, making the appropriate changes to the pre-existing Bible after consulting the original Hebrew and Greek texts (Bobrick 239). Given the debt that the King James Bible owes to previous English renderings of the Bible, it is fitting that its translators did not "start from scratch" in the physical act of composing the work, but instead engaged with the Bishops' Bible at the most fundamental textual level in order "to make a good [translation] better, or out of many good ones, one principall good one" (M. Smith 237).

Since James's rules of translation encouraged the six companies to engage intertextually with other English Bibles, the resulting King James Bible defines James as an author and monarch constructed of both progressive and traditional elements. By rejecting the works of previous English Bible translators who worked in isolation, revised earlier works, and failed to consult the original texts, the translators reinforced James's identity as a textually sensitive monarch committed to the principles of humanist scholarship. Yet the new translation demonstrated also James's reverence for and preservation of the English vernacular tradition. Much of the text's phrasing comes from Tyndale, both directly through his translation itself and indirectly through the reworking of Tyndale in Coverdale's two Bibles and the Matthew's and Bishops' versions. The new Bible's sense of unity and purpose owes a great deal to Coverdale's Great Bible, which by its title page and by the text's very existence as the first monarchically authorised English Bible articulates royal authority over both Church and State. The Great Bible--and later the Bishops' Bible--also set a precedent for James by eliminating interpretive annotations that had a decidedly anti-monarchical leaning. In the Geneva Bible James found a precedent for the new translation's general organisation and scholarly attention to detail, and perhaps most notably, he derived from the execution of the Bishops' Bible a general model for translation by committee rather than by an individual, a model upon which he improved. By supervising a comparative translation, one which accurately renders the original but at the same time takes into account the benefits and detriments of previous translations, James defined himself as a locus of both contemporary and traditional streams of thought: a classical scholar nonetheless aware of the power of the vernacular; a textual innovator in touch with the English biblical tradition; a unifier of the polyphonic world of Bible translation still willing to open the door to the published dialogue made possible by popular scriptural interpretation. This mediation between progressiveness and tradition was crucial in defining him both for

himself and for others as a king who paradoxically was a new-style textual monarch descended from a line of divinely ordained predecessors.

The inclusion of visual imagery on the title page further developed James's authoritative identity. Following the general example of Coverdale's 1539 Great Bible, the King James Bible's original title page explicitly reinforces on a textual and visual level James's existence as a divinely ordained monarch fully in charge of both the Bible text and the religion to which it is so central. For Henry VIII, authorising Coverdale's Great Bible asserted and validated an independent Anglican Church governed on earth by the English monarch rather than the Pope. In keeping with this view of the monarch's power over the Church, Hans Holbein's engraved frontispiece to the Great Bible graphically depicts Henry's position at the head of England's ecclesiastical and political hierarchies. Seated on his throne below God but above the other figures in the engraving, Henry hands the newly translated Bible to the heads of both the clergy and the laity, Archbishop Thomas Cranmer and Lord Great Chamberlain Thomas Cromwell, respectively. Nearer the bottom of the page, these two lieutenants of the king in turn present the Bible to their subordinates—Cranmer to an Anglican Priest, and Cromwell to a group of noblemen. Below, a priest preaches from the Bible to a group of Henry's subjects. If this depiction of the religious and secular hierarchies is not explicit enough to assert the monarch's intermediate place between God and his earthly subjects, two other images emphasise the consequences for those who subvert this order by opposing royal authority: the silhouette of Newgate prison stands threateningly behind the group of common people who receive the God's Word from the Anglican priest (MacGregor 139-40), and on the actual title page of Great Bibles published after 1540, Thomas Cromwell's coat of arms is effaced to represent the Lord Great Chamberlain's execution for treason against the King (Bobrick 157). The Great Bible's frontispiece explicitly portrays the monarch's pre-eminent position in the religious and political hierarchies, and demonstrates that Henry brooks no opposition from common people, priests and

Archbishops, or even government officials such as Thomas Cromwell and Sir Thomas More. Within his kingdom, there is no place for dialogue or for dissent from the monarchical position.

To some degree, this view of monarch's inviolable authority over both Church and State "corresponded well with [James's] self-understanding" as a unifying force governing England at both the religious and political levels (McGrath 97). Consequently, the King James Bible title page communicates to the reader James's firm control over both ecclesiastical and secular matters. As the first high priest of Israel, Aaron occupies a prominent place on the title page and visually conveys that contrary to Presbyterian or even Puritan opposition, the priesthood will be an important part of the Church of England under James. The image of Moses bearing the ten commandments conveys the idea that God's law—as interpreted and enforced by the king—will prevail in both His secular and ecclesiastical realms. Like the frontispiece of the Great Bible, with its visual imagery the title page of the King James Bible is the king's commandment, a hierarchical statement of Church and State discipline designed in a new era of printed works to intimidate the reader. So is the written text of the title page, which reads as follows:

The Holy Bible, conteyning the Old Testament and the New. Newly Translated out of the Originall tongues: & with the former Translations diligently compared and reuised by his Maiesties speciall Comandement. Appointed to be read in Churches. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most Excellent Maiestie. ANNO DOM. 1611.

The fact that the work is designated as having been completed "by his Maiesties speciall Comandement" emphasises James's role as divinely ordained "commander" of the Church of England. The fact that the text has been "Appointed to be read in Churches" settles any question of church discipline: as a linguistic and ecclesiastical authority, James has given the work his personal endorsement, and at the same time, he has decreed that the official Bible of Anglicanism be an active and vocal guide of his subjects'

religious lives. And the fact that the work has been set in print by the "Printer to the King's most Excellent Maiestie"—a conventional declaration present also on the title page of James's two volumes of verse in Scotland—implies that the king has an inviolable control over the printed Word, those who labour to produce it, and the Church for which it is the central text.

But within the title page of the King James Bible, as within the Jacobean conception of the monarch's authority over both Church and State, there is always at least some room for negotiation. Despite its assertion of Anglican church discipline in the face of Catholic and Puritan factions that had threatened to alter the Church of England's hierarchy since Tudor times, the title page portrays James as a monarch committed to infusing the work—and the Church itself—with a sense of balance and dialogue engendered by his intertextual engagement with previous translations. The work's having been "Newly Translated out of the Originall tongues: & with the former Translations diligently compared and reuised" demonstrates that James is a monarch who balances a conservative humanist reliance upon ancient texts and a progressive engagement with the more recent vernacular tradition. The fact that the title page emphasises that the new Bible contains both "the Old Testament, and the New" imparts a further balance upon the text since the Old Testament details the establishment and often harsh maintenance of God's law and the New Testament introduces the prospect of unconditional human salvation. Obviously, the King James Bible is not the first English one to include both Testaments, but emphasising their inclusion for the reader was a defining act for a monarch who had stated in *Basilicon Doron* that like God, the ideal king must "temper and mixe [his] seueritie with mildnes" (31).

Such balance is visually apparent in the detailed imagery employed by the Antwerp artist Cornelius Boel in the engraving that surrounds the text on the title page. Olga S. Opfell identifies the figures that appear on the title page, the general placement of them conveying to the reader a sense of spatial harmony and balance. In the centre of the

engraving, between two columns and beneath the entablature that they support, is the full text of the Bible's title. At the top of the picture, above the entablature, is the tetragrammaton, God's name written in Hebrew. Directly below the tetragrammaton is a dove that represents the Holy Spirit, and standing on the entablature immediately beneath the dove are the twelve apostles, two of whom—Peter and James—flank an oval picture of Christ as the Lamb of God. In niches in the columns that flank the title page's text stand Moses and Aaron, and at the bottom of the picture, between the two columns, stands another oval picture of Christ, this time represented as a pelican wounding herself in the breast in order to feed her young with her own blood. At the base of the two columns sit two of the evangelists, Luke and John, and atop the columns in front of the apostles sit their evangelical counterparts Matthew and Mark (Opfell 113). The balanced placement of the figures on the title page conveys to the reader the general harmony and order with which James as both king and translator has imbued both the new Bible and the religious world into which it has entered.

But the title page defines James's kingship more specifically through the figures' individual identities within the context of the engraving. The location of the printed title of the Bible—the centre of the title page—emphasises that "The Holy Bible" is a locus of religious symbolism and power. Since all of the figures in the engraving surround the text's title, the Bible functions as a unifying force that brings together and articulates to the reader a variety of ecclesiastical ideologies. In general, the complete Bible is a reconciling force in that it unites New Testament figures such as the Apostles and the evangelists with Old Testament ones like Moses and Aaron. But as such a reconciling force, the Bible contains within it a number of specific ideologies that help define James's role as king. Christ's disciples, and in particular the twelve Apostles in the engraving, represent devotion to a higher power since they were Christ's most loyal followers. The four writers of the Gospels, who on the title page surround the Bible text and seem to anchor it at the corners, symbolise the authorship and dissemination of the

text out of which the Scriptures derive much of their power. The Bible's title is closely flanked by Moses, who was the first purveyor of God's law on earth, and Aaron, who was the first high priest of Israel; this close conjunction conveys the centrality of the union of Church and State to biblical history. The dove, a traditional symbol of peace, hovers above the text to emphasise the text's power to unify people in a common purpose. And the image of the lamb, coupled with that of the pelican wounding itself in order to feed its young, conveys to the reader the idea of sacrifice for the sake of the welfare of others. The biblical images that surround the text on the title page articulate the many central functions of the Bible: as a unifying and peacemaking force; as a moral, legal, and doctrinal authority by virtue of its being a written work; as a locus of secular and ecclesiastical power; and as a work that sustains people, polity, and religion. Basically, the title page, with its carefully chosen and organised imagery, serves as a statement of intent that graphically broadcasts some of the Bible's many purposes and powers.

As such a statement of intent, the title page also defines the powers of the monarch. Being a repository and source of various powers, the Bible to some extent constructs the monarch who has commissioned its most recent translation. The fact that Boel had recently painted portraits of some members of James's family (Opfell 113) draws an immediate connection—at least for a noble audience who might have seen the royal portraits—between royal authority and the host of biblical figures represented in the engraving. And even the reader who has not seen Boel's previous work cannot fail to see James's implied position on the title page. Moving down the page, one can see that the engraving presents a genealogy of the Bible itself: the Word originates with God, and through the Holy Spirit is transmitted to others through Christ, the Apostles, and the evangelists. As the translator of the received text, James is next in the Bible's literary lineage, a divine instrument and modern-day evangelist who like his biblical predecessors has served God by disseminating His Word. The title page of the King James Bible is a visual statement of the textual power inherent in the Bible, but even more, it is a visual

statement of the textual power harnessed by the monarch who, under God, has intimately connected himself with the text by translating and disseminating it. If the Bible is a locus of religious, legal, and moral authority, James's close association with it—as articulated in the title page—imparts to him an analogous centralised authority.

Like that of the King James Bible, the title page of James's 1616 collected *Workes* articulates in both literal and graphic terms James's royal function as a centralised textual authority. The Bible's title page indirectly places James at the ecclesiastical and political centre, but the *Workes*'s title page even more directly asserts his ascendancy as author and monarch. The title page, which appears on page a1r of the *Workes*, is divided into two distinct halves. The top half, consisting of the full title, reads as follows:

THE
WORKES OF
THE MOST HIGH
AND MIGHTIE
PRINCE,
JAMES
BY THE GRACE OF
GOD, KING OF GREAT
BRITAINNE, FRANCE AND
IRELAND, DEFENDER
of the FAITH, &c.

Situated in the middle of the page going from left to right, the title conveys a sense of general balance as it does on the title page of the Bible, and also articulates the centrality of the text to James's political and ecclesiastical enterprise: the text is not marginal, but rather occupies a position of the first order. Likewise, James's name appears in large print at the intersection of the horizontal and vertical axes, an assertion of monarchical authority over the written word. In the same size of print is the abbreviated title of the collection—the WORKES—a fact that immediately draws an intimate connection between James and the *Workes*. The fact that the word WORKES is at the very top of the page develops this connection: James is the author of the *Workes*, but his works preside over and even create him. The traditional title accorded to English monarchs follows James's

name, designating him king "by the grace of God" and "defender of the faith," thereby asserting his position as a divine-right monarch charged with the maintenance of religious order on earth. The title has an added dimension, however; not simply king of England, Ireland, and France, James is king of "Great Britaine, France, and Ireland"—a unifying force whose power as reconciler is reflected by his central position in the text's title. Overall, the upper half of the title page conveys a number of specific monarchical ideologies: the sense of balance and unity with which James has infused his political and ecclesiastical realms; the divine sanction that has allowed him to exercise his mediating authority; and the degree to which his identity is bound up with that of the written text.

The bottom half of the title page further articulates James's textual authority. The name of the *Workes's* compiler, Bishop James Montague, ascribes to the episcopacy an intermediary position in the Church hierarchy—below the king whose name appears above Montague's, but above that of James's other ecclesiastical subjects. Montague had been one of James's Bible translators, and below his name are two intertextual references to the King James Bible. Italicised for emphasis is a quotation from the Bible—1 Kings 3:12—which reads "*Loe, I haue giuen thee a wise and an vnderstanding heart.*" Citing the King James Bible is a general means of asserting the authority of the new translation that has assumed a prime place among James's written "workes," but the specific choice of text defines James's authority in several other ways. As a selected text, 1 Kings is appropriate for a monarch seeking to articulate his royal authority. The fact that the quotation is what James calls in *Basilicon Doron* the very "dytemment of the Spirit of God" (15) conveys the idea that God Himself has endowed the king in question—Solomon—with divine wisdom and understanding. Since James considers himself to be "Great Britain's Solomon," the implication is that his rule, too, has divine sanction and inspiration. At the bottom of the page appears the name of Robert Barker, "printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie." Having been the printer of the King James Bible, Barker is closely connected to the most defining text of James's English

rule, and having produced both the Bible and the *Workes* "Cum Priuilegio" as the King's Printer, he functions as a testament to James's control over the written word.

Following the example of the King James Bible, the bottom half of the *Workes*'s title page contains iconography that graphically conveys the importance of the text to James's development of royal authority. Below the quotation from 1 Kings but above the reference to Robert Barker, a small oval engraving occupies the centre of the lower half of the page. The illustration's ornate and balanced square border features representations of angels, God's divine messengers whose intermediary function parallels that of James. Flanking the illustration are two larger figures who further define James as divine intermediary between God and humans: on the right is Mercury, the messenger of the Gods, and on the left stands Minerva, who having cast aside the *aegis*, functions as the goddess of wisdom rather than war. Surrounding the oval illustration is the inscription "DAT MANVS: SVPERESSE MINERVA." Although this phrase does not make complete grammatical sense, its loose translation—"The hand gives: Minerva to survive"—conveys the enduring wisdom of the written text. In the very centre of the engraving stands an open book that emphasises the written text's pre-eminence and its most basic function as something that performs work in being read. Mercury's hand rests upon the book in order to establish its identity as a product of the divinity. Minerva points to the sun breaking through clouds above the book, and the sun's rays *enlighten* the text to convey even further God's role in the act of writing. The relationship between God and written texts is a reciprocal one: through the author He infuses texts with wisdom so that they "carry in them so much diuine trewth and light" (Montague, "Preface" d4v), and conversely, the reader's apprehension of written works affords him a glimpse of the divine order of things. Fully convinced of the divine origins of his textual rule, James is no longer ashamed to omit his name from the *Workes* as he did with the *Prentise*. Following the title page is a large representation of the royal coat of arms, complete with the motto *DIEV ET MON DROIT*. The title page—and the *Workes*

itself—is a textual and visual statement of divine-right monarchy by a king whose theoretical and practical rule is firmly based on the written text.

In 1620, James authorised another textual monument to his kingship, one closely related to the publication of his collected *Workes*. That year, he visited Oxford University for the purpose of presenting the Bodleian Library with a copy of the text. To commemorate the occasion, the university—no doubt with James's support, if not at his urging—commissioned a statue that still stands on the fourth storey of the Tower of the Five Orders, commanding the entrance to the Bodleian from high above the Schools Quadrangle (Tyack 16). This statue depicts James presenting his published works both to the University and to Fame, and in doing so “carves in stone” his multi-dimensional literary contribution to the library, the university, and the nation-at-large. The books that comprise part of the statue bear the inscription *HAEC HABEO QUAE SCRIPSI. HAEC HABEO QUAE DEDI*, which Geoffrey Tyack translates as “These things I have which I have written. These things I have which I have given” (18). Like the dedication to the *Workes* itself, this inscription conveys the idea that James's writings more than any other bequest constitute his “kingly gift” to the nation and to his successors. He is not simply a creator of texts, but is also a disseminator of them, a monarch who has divinely inspired works—his poetry, his political and ecclesiastical writings, his translation of the Bible—to share with others. In the hands of their recipients, James's texts and the three-dimensional representation of them perform *work*: by becoming a physical and ideological part of Oxford University, England's seat of learning and of ecclesiastical conservatism, they confirm his scholastic ability and fix the religious balance that James has effected; by disseminating his words through Fame's trumpet to a wide vernacular audience, they mediate God's divine monarchical order. As he did with a Bible translation that he personally authorised before it was even begun, with the statue at Oxford James literalises the ideal by memorialising for future generations the text's contribution both to the nation and to his kingship. Publishing his *Workes* and

commissioning the statue that dramatises his dissemination of the volume are not merely efforts to define and consolidate his kingship; they are also the confident attempts of a firmly established king to define his authorial and monarchical legacy.

W.B. Patterson argues that since "religion was the transcendent ideological force in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Europe," James wanted to "harness this powerful ideological force to achieve a stable and lasting peace in Europe" (362). Harnessing this "transcendent ideological force"—in particular as it existed in the text of the Bible—also provided a means for James to define his monarchical authority on a domestic front. In his treatise entitled *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, Richard Hooker, a religious commentator whose writings were well-known to James, outlines some of the discourses inherent in the Bible: "There is no part of true philosophie, no arte of accompt, no kind of science rightly so called, but the scripture must conteyne it" (Hooker, *Polity* 1: 125). James realised that in order to define and uphold his scholarly, ecclesiastical, and political authority as master of these discourses, he in turn must contain the Bible itself by *authoring* it. Originating and closely supervising a new translation, controlling its iconography and terminology, adding the new text to his canon of written works—all of these actions are "inseparable from James's efforts (so crucial for a new king) to solidify his legal, political, and cultural supremacy" (Barnaby and Wry 1234). A.C. Partridge states that the Bible had been "the testing-ground of translators almost from its written beginnings" (3), and for James, translating the Scriptures was a natural extension of his literary efforts in Scotland, a final test and a final text that effected his transition from literary and monarchical apprentice to ecclesiastical and political master.

A passage from the King James Bible itself most clearly demonstrates the authority that James believed the Bible lent to his kingship:

Who *is* as the wise *man*? and who knoweth the interpretation of a thing? a man's wisdom maketh his face to shine, and the boldness of his face shall be changed.

I *counsel thee* to keep the king's commandment, and *that* in regard of the oath of God.

Be not hasty to go out of his sight: stand not in an evil thing; for he doeth whatsoever pleaseth him.

Where the word of a *king is*, *there* is power: and who may say unto him, What doest thou? (Ecclesiastes 8:1-4)

Situated in the Old Testament with the books of Judges and Kings, this is the true "Song of Solomon," a vocalisation of the written text's importance to James's monarchical authority. Invoking the "oath of God," it asserts the monarch's divine sanction as a basis for a subject's obedience to his word. Moreover, it presents the monarch as a repository of divine wisdom, the sort of wisdom that Montague says has constantly "appeared in [James's] wordes and Workes" ("Epistle" e2r). Kevin Sharpe argues that translating the Bible was a means by which James "claimed contested texts for the crown" and exerted control over "the arena of interpretation and discourse" ("Writ" 131). Yet by presenting his subjects with an authorised vernacular version of the Bible, James actually opened the arena of interpretation, and the question "who knoweth the interpretation of a thing?" almost urges the reader to be cautious when interpreting the Word and even the monarch who has provided it. James's translators state that "where the word of a king is, there is power," but a king's word is infinitely more powerful when it includes and disseminates the text of the Bible.

Notes.

¹This quotation is from Ecclesiastes 8:4.

²James's collected works--the complete title of which is *The Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince, James by the Grace of God King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.*--is included in A.W. Pollard and Redgrave's *Short-Titles Catalogue*, STC 14344, Reel 993.

³The contribution made to James's English kingship by his literary interaction with figures such as Ben Jonson, John Donne, and even William Shakespeare has been well-documented. Three works are especially informative: Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong's *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1973, 2 vols.); Annabel Patterson's "John Donne, Kingsman?" in Linda Levy Peck's *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, pages 251-72 (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1991); and Alvin Kernan's *Shakespeare, the King's Playwright: Theater in the Stuart Court, 1603-1613* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1995).

⁴A.W. Pollard translates this decree as: "The Holy Scripture not to be translated into the vulgar tongue, nor a translation to be expounded, until it shall have been duly examined, under pain of excommunication and the stigma of heresy" (*Records* 80).

⁵James's goal was to produce a Bible whose diction is consistent with Church of England doctrine but is still acceptable to those on either end of the ecclesiastical spectrum. Achieving this goal, he believed, would help articulate to his new subjects--Anglican, Catholic, and Puritan alike--the extent of his mediating and unifying powers as divinely ordained ruler of both Church and State. In reforming hands, the act of translating the term *ekklesia* as "congregation" rather than "church" had an egalitarianism inherent in it, for it undermined the idea of an ecclesiastical hierarchy that the word "church" conveyed, and so James ensured that his translators were judicious in

their use of the term. By searching other terms in the database *The Bible in English (990-1970)*, produced by ProQuest Information and Learning Company, 1997-2000, one can get a sense of the terminological balance that the translators effected between what Miles Smith calls "the scrupulositie of the Puritanes" and "the obscuritie of the Papists" (241). Eradicating the term "penance" from the Bible text—a term which appears 305 times in the Catholic Douai-Rheims translation—positioned James as a reforming monarch firmly committed to the Protestant faith. At the same time, the King James Bible agrees with Catholic more than the Presbyterian interpretation of the term "bishop," and the new translation's use of the term voices a hierarchical conception of the Church and advocates the monarch's authority over ecclesiastical affairs. Critical of the Catholic Sacrament of Penance, but unwilling to adhere to the Presbyterian view of the episcopacy, through its engagement with other translations the King James Bible defines James as neither a Presbyterian nor a Catholic king, but as a truly Anglican one: a reform-minded monarch firmly in charge of both secular and ecclesiastical government.

⁶At the Hampton Court Conference, James singled out two passages in particular—the annotations to Exodus 1:19 and 2 Chronicles 15:16—as being "very partiall, vntrue, seditious, and sauouring too much of daungerous, and trayterous conceites" (A.W. Pollard, *Records* 46). The Geneva note to Exodus 1:19 states that the Hebrew midwives were justified in disobeying Pharoah's order to kill all male infants; believing himself to be a divine-right monarch, James condemned the Geneva text since "the marginal note alloweth *disobedience to Kings*" (46). The note to 2 Chronicles 15:16 argues that in not punishing his mother severely enough for her idolatry, King Asa of Judah disobeyed God. James disagreed with this annotation since by criticising Asa "for deposing his mother, *onely*, and *not killing her*," the text implies that a monarch can operate against God's will and thus is not a divine agent (46). Such a reference did not sit well with James also because he was the son of the deposed and eventually executed Mary, Queen of Scots. James had a simple strategy for defining his new Bible and his

kingship against these sorts of marginal notes that challenge the authority of the monarch in secular and ecclesiastical affairs: he instructed his translators to eradicate them altogether.

Conclusion: "Rex Scribit"¹

Although an outbreak of the plague had prevented James from touring Oxford University immediately after his accession to the English throne, by the summer of 1605 he deemed it both safe and necessary to visit the university whose political and ecclesiastical leanings had traditionally been aligned with those of the Crown. Lasting from 27 to 30 August 1605, the royal visit to Oxford provided a good opportunity for James to define his style of rule for his new subjects, particularly since both Anthony Nixon and Sir Isaac Wake memorialised the occasion by publishing contemporary accounts. In his 1605 *Oxfords Triumph*, Nixon describes a scholarly, mediating, and engaging monarch whose approach to his English rule relied heavily upon his experience as king of Scotland. Acting as "chiefe Moderator," on 28 and 29 August James displayed his mediating skill at St Mary's Church by overseeing a series of academic debates on theology, law, philosophy, and science (Nixon C1r). Not content simply to guide the disputation between figures such as George Abbot and Lancelot Andrewes, James on several occasions engaged directly with the scholars, and "many times vrged contrarieties to finde out the certaintie, indeauouring in knowledge to winne a full and compleate perfection" (D1r-D1v). James was scrupulous about considering all points of view; after the debates ended, when he noticed "that there was one [scholar] left, which had not disputed, his Maiestie gaue commaundement that hee should dispute also" (D2r). In a final oration to the disputants, James urged them to follow the *via media* in religion by subscribing neither to "Romish superstitions" nor to "scismaticall, & new opinions" (D4v). By conducting himself in such an interested and non-partisan manner during his publicly documented visit to Oxford, James demonstrated himself early in his English reign to be an amateur scholar and professional king willing—and in fact eager—to consider and engage with alternative points of view.

But James defined himself as king most clearly while touring the newly restored Bodleian Library on 30 August. Having "mounted himself with diuerse of his Nobles to see the Vniuersities Librarie," upon his arrival there James took a particular interest in a rare set of biblical texts, an interest undoubtedly rooted in the fact that he had recently initiated the Bible translation project. In an effort to encourage an intertextual dialogue of sorts with the university, he offered to give the Bodleian any books that it desired from the Royal Library (E2r-E3r). He informed those present at the library that had he not been a king, he would have attended Oxford (Wake 122). He then literalised this idea of himself as an "Oxford man." Taking note of the "many Bookes fastened with chaines of Iron" to the shelves in the library (Nixon E2v), he stated that if he were ever held captive, he wished the Bodleian to be his prison, so that he might be chained in the company of the great authors represented there (Wake 122-3).² This statement provides an important paradigm through which one can understand James's approach to kingship. By drawing an explicit connection between himself and the writers who are metonymically present in the library, James asserts his place as an author of the first order. As a published author in Scotland and the originator of a new Bible translation in England, he has to a large degree textualised himself. He has repeatedly defined himself in terms of the written word, and as a result, he considers his monarchical theory, practice, and identity to be closely bound to the text. Now, by creating a hypothetical situation in which like the books in the Bodleian Library he is chained to a shelf, he graphically articulates his authorial and monarchical ideal: to become one with the text.

In many ways, James had been closely and consistently identified with the text throughout his life. Mark Fortier says that "in examining James's writings, we see an ongoing political theory which leads to the justification of the triumph of equity over the common law" (1279), and an analysis of James's ecclesiastical and political writings certainly reveals an ongoing concern with mediation between extremes and adherence to the *via media*. In his 1997 book *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*,

William Brown Patterson delineates more specifically the early textual origins of James's conciliatory theory and practice. Focusing on James's early monarchical experience, he argues that "James's theories were developed largely in Scotland to assert the authority of the Scottish crown" (7). He provides a textual basis for James's preoccupation with the practice of mediation by stating that "James no doubt drew some of his ideas from writers in the conciliar era [i.e. the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries], but he probably drew them initially from writers who were more nearly contemporary with him" (58). As a youth, James indeed derived many of his theories of monarchy from contemporary texts, the most notable one being the actual person of his tutor, George Buchanan. By assigning to James a wide variety of readings including Erasmus and Ascham, Buchanan attempted to construct a monarch to his own Presbyterian specifications. Although he did not succeed in convincing James that the monarch was an instrument of his subjects, Buchanan did instill in James a lifelong love of learning and humanist dialogue. Most importantly, he imparted to James a conception of the power inherent in the written text, a conception upon which the young king would rely heavily as he developed and articulated his own theories of monarchical authority.

Almost immediately upon attaining majority age in Scotland, James began to explore the various means by which the text could help him to define his rule both for himself and for his subjects. He found Andrew and James Melville to be an unconventional but necessary set of texts. They represented a virulent Presbyterian other against whom he could assert himself as a divinely ordained ruler of both Kirk and State. But the Melvilles proved also to be a loyal opposition whose constructive criticism he actively sought out even into his English rule. By engaging the two ministers in a longstanding intertextual dialogue and treating them as interpretable texts to be repudiated and suppressed but at times even tolerated and followed, James defined himself in both Scotland and England as a divinely ordained and authoritative yet mediating and merciful monarch. And in the 1590s, James began to establish his monarchical identity through a

series of more literal textual explorations as both patron and published author. In what was in large part an intertextual response to the Melvilles and the *Presbyterian Second Book of Discipline*, he wrote a series of ecclesiastical and political treatises—the *Daemonologie*, *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, and *Basilicon Doron*—whose contents developed and publicly registered his conception of the monarch's authority in both secular and ecclesiastical matters. With their republication in England, these works performed double duty, asserting to an entirely new audience James's function as a master both of words and of men.

But becoming such an author and authority had not been a simple process, for during the 1580s and early 1590s James had undergone a poetic apprenticeship that taught him valuable lessons regarding the power of the printed word. As the increasingly authoritative patron of the "Castalian band" of court poets, he honed his literary and monarchical skills of mediation, dialogue, and governance. At the same time, he began to conceptualise poetry as a craft or trade, a necessary and self-defining form of work for an aspiring author and monarch. In 1584, he personally put the written text to work by publishing a volume of verse entitled *The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie*. By dramatising James's progression from novice translator to skilled poet to legislator of poets, the *Prentise* portrays James as an author and monarch whose creative, mediating, and governing powers are undergoing development. Seven years later, James completed his poetic apprenticeship by publishing *His Majesties Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres*, a volume of verse that includes his "masterpiece," "Lepanto." "Lepanto" is James's strongest demonstration of his poetic mastery, for it is an original epic composition that confirms the divine order on earth and portrays the text's author as a tolerant but firm advocate of Protestantism who occupies a prominent place in European international politics. Moreover, in conjunction with his other writings, "Lepanto" facilitates James's fitness for performing a literary, religious, and political work of the highest order: the translation of the Bible into English. In his book entitled *The Literary*

History of the Bible, Geddes MacGregor expresses surprise that an influential work like the King James Bible could be "associated with such an unlikely king" as James (182). But his early textual training as scholar, political and religious theorist, poet, patron, and translator makes James the *most* likely English monarch to have engaged actively in a Bible translation project. In Scotland James had come to believe that although kingship was divinely bestowed, it must be textually developed, and his attempt to define himself through the English Bible as an ecclesiastical and political authority was a natural extrapolation of his Scottish experience. James's ability to command, organise, and supervise the execution of the new Bible translation was a masterful demonstration of his creative, mediating, and controlling abilities, and the resulting text that still bears his name firmly asserts his religious, political, and cultural authority in England.

But in the early modern period, many believed that royal publication had a stigma attached to it that actually undermined monarchical authority. In his preface to James's collected *Workes*, James Montague succinctly summarises the argument of contemporaries who criticise the king for being a published author: "Say these Men, Little it befits the Maiesty of a King to turne Clerke, and to make a warre with the penn, that were fitter to be fought with the Pike" ("Preface" B2v). That is, kings traditionally define their authority and establish their reputation through glorious military engagements rather than mundane clerical ones that fail to differentiate monarchs from their subjects. In assessing the arguments against royal publication, Montague uses the term "Clerke" deliberately, for he says that many view authorship as a common profession: "Since that Booke-writing is growen into a Trade; It is as dishonorable for a King to write bookes; as it is for him to be a Practitioner in a Profession" (B2v). The conventional argument against royal publication, according to Montague, is that authorship is menial work that demystifies and degrades a monarch. Since publication is associated with commerce and trade, and even worse, with a specific trade, a king should not (like a common author) dirty his hands in print.

Yet as a king who in Scotland had cultivated an image of himself as a member of the "smoky smiths," James ignored any stigma attached to royal publication and considered his printed *Workes* to be just that: a functional and integral part of his professional kingship. By the very act of writing the preface to James's *Workes*, Montague acknowledges James's uniqueness as a monarch. As well, he cites a variety of precedents to demonstrate that the written word is the mark of—and perhaps even the means to—good governance. He provides a long list of monarchs who were also writers—a list beginning with Alexander the Great and ending with Elizabeth—and then argues that the divinely bestowed gift of writing separates benevolent monarchs from tyrants. A lawful king is divinely ordained, Montague believes, and the king's ability to author texts affirms his position as God's intermediary on earth. By the same token, "neither must we euer looke to see Learning flourish, where Tyrannie beareth the Stander" (C1r). Since lawful monarchs write to signify and assert their divine sanction and tyrants do not, Montague continues, James's opponents should not find it "ynough to wonder at, that Rex scribit" (C4r). By Montague's logic, they should be more surprised if *Rex non scribit*, for authorship of the text empowers James by allowing him

to shew his abilities for the present, to perpetuate his Memory to Posterity; to aduance his praise before his owne People, and gaine Glory from others; but especially to giue Glory vnto GOD. (D1r)

Montague—and by implication, James—believes that royal authorship does not carry a stigma, but is instead both an exercise of and a testament to God's creative authority.

While some of James's contemporaries attached a stigma to his authorship, later commentators—if they considered his writings at all—would be just as critical. The late-nineteenth-century historian S.R. Gardiner states that James possessed a "supereminent power of shutting his eyes to the facts of the world around him," and maintains that even though his political theory was only vaguely defined, James was intolerant of any criticism from others (4: 411; 367). Implying that pursuits such as

writing detracted from James's operation of government, Gardiner summarises James's rule by arguing that "James thought enough about politics to make him jealous of interference, and not enough to make them the business of his life" (3: 73). In this assessment, Gardiner himself shuts his eyes to a number of significant aspects of James's rule: the intertextual dialogue with the Melvilles by which James demonstrated his humanist willingness to entertain alternative points of view; the degree to which James consistently used the text as a means of defining and exercising royal authority; and James's awareness of the potential power of the printed word in a culture that was becoming increasingly text-oriented. Over seventy years later, James's biographer D.H. Willson would echo some of Gardiner's criticisms. Although he devotes considerable attention to James's written works, especially those that James composed as part of his debate with the Papacy regarding the Oath of Allegiance after 1608, Willson considers James's writings to be juvenile and dogmatic: "His tantrums in print are as puerile as his tantrums in daily life, [and] his disregard for the rights of others is just as complete" (242). Willson fails to see that James's writings were not childish evasions of governmental responsibility or irrelevant theoretical "tantrums," but instead were attempts to engage others both at home and on the Continent in what the king considered to be a constructive scholarly dialogue.

Popular biographer Antonia Fraser has also misinterpreted James's writings. She engages with James's assertion in the prefatory sonnet to *Basilicon Doron* that monarchs have "the stile of Gods" (James VI and I, "Argvment" line 1), only to contend that James "did not have the style of a God, . . . nor did he create it for himself as Elizabeth had" (Fraser 214). The statement that James did not create an authoritative monarchical image of himself as *Elizabeth had* is correct, but for reasons other than Fraser avers. Elizabeth frequently articulated her royal image in visual terms through portraiture, as did Henry VIII and James's son Charles; for this reason, their likenesses are often recognisable to non-specialists. What Fraser overlooks, however, is that James defined his rule primarily

through the written word. As a result, most people do not know him from portraits, but instead know *of* him through his association with the most famous text in English literature, the King James Bible.

In her 2001 article entitled "The New Biography," Charlotte Gray succinctly summarises recent developments in biographical studies: "The last decade has seen vigorous argument between traditionalists and those who want to redirect the study of history onto the historically marginalized" (250). Her statement is equally applicable to Jacobean studies as they have developed over the past decade or so, for many scholars have made efforts to redirect studies of James's kingship onto one of its traditionally marginalised components: James's printed texts that earlier biographers and critics have all but ignored. Over the past decade, Gray states, scholars began to believe that "if political history was to be a true representation of the country, it had to include the ruled as well as the rulers" (251). This dissertation is not such a sweeping political history, but is instead a focused literary biography that examines James's personal history of education, reading, writing, and interaction with others in order to delineate the evolution and exercise of his mediating public policy. James's personal engagement with-and-by his various texts was central to his development into a mediating authority, and although this engagement did not necessarily make him an exemplary monarch, it did make him one who was uniquely aware of the possibilities for personal, political, and religious self-fashioning that the publicly printed text afforded. Scholars such as William Brown Patterson have recently begun to consider the text's role in shaping both James and his mediating monarchical policy. Patterson finds the beginnings of James's longstanding efforts to mediate a pan-European religious peace in the king's youthful engagement with other authors. He argues that because James had read widely in both earlier and contemporary conciliar theory, mediation "had been very much a part of his political program since the mid-1580s" when he required disputing nobles to break bread with him and then walk hand in hand through the streets of Edinburgh from Holyroodhouse to

the Market Cross (58; 19). In Patterson's opinion, James's "hands-on" public policy of mediation had early textual origins in Scotland.

More often than not, however, scholars tend to ignore James's textual experience in Scotland even when they do examine the influence of his own writings on his theory and practice of rule. As its title suggests, Kevin Sharpe's 1993 article "The King's Writ: Royal Authors and Royal Authority in Early Modern England" focuses its study of James's polity on the period after 1603. And in a 1994 article, James Doelman concentrates on "The English Reception of King James VI & I's *Basilikon Doron*" despite the fact that James composed the treatise four years before he became King of England. Undoubtedly, when writing *Basilikon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* James looked forward to his all-but-assured English rule. But when Johann Sommerville claims in the abstract to his edition of James's political writings that James's printed works—including *Basilikon Doron* and *The Trew Law*—"shed light on the political climate of Shakespeare's England and the intellectual background of the civil wars which afflicted Britain in the mid-seventeenth century" (Abstract i), he overlooks the role the treatises played in defining James's Scottish kingship. More sensitive to James's political development in Scotland is Jenny Wormald, who has done much to draw meaningful connections between the reigns of James VI and I. As its title indicates, her 1991 article "James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*: The Scottish Context and the English Translation" provides a comprehensive examination of the degree to which at least one of James's writings helped to define his monarchical theory and practice in both kingdoms.

Other more recent works have examined the cultural significance of some of James's more well-known texts, and even of some of his lesser-known ones, albeit in a limited way. Although there have been many studies of the King James Bible over the past century, Alister McGrath and Benson Bobrick's current books focus most clearly on the Bible's role in forming an English national consciousness. Yet neither of these studies

takes into account the textual interplay in Scotland that enabled James to initiate, supervise, and authorise such a defining work in England. Some critics have begun to examine the most overlooked body of James's written works: the poetry that he published in Scotland. Although a complete edition of James's poetry has not been published since James Craigie's two-volume set appeared in the 1950s, in 1999 and 2000 Sandra Bell and Robert Appelbaum, respectively, published articles on "Lepanto" and its relationship to James's political theory. Even these articles have limitations, however, for their authors consider "Lepanto" to be a poem built of James's identity as king rather than one that actually helped to construct his political status.

In general, scholars have recently begun to retrieve James's printed works from the margins, but they have done so in specific and compartmentalised ways. If they examine his political treatises, they do so with little consideration of the Scottish context in which James composed them. If they examine the Scottish origins of his writings, they deal only with some of his more famous prose works, and ignore his poetry. And if they examine his Scottish poetry, they look only at a small number of texts, and fail to consider the degree to which James found in verse a means of defining and asserting his mediating authority. In short, none have considered the significance of the printed text as a constant and defining factor in James's development and articulation of his monarchical authority both in Scotland and in England.

If three centuries of Jacobean historiography have demonstrated anything, it is that James is himself a text, interpretable in an almost infinite number of ways. And more: his textual identity rests upon the fact that, more than any preceding Scottish or English monarch, he was a king created by the printed word. Alvin Kernan argues that James had "a shrewd, up-to-date understanding of how to manipulate men and events in the exercise of power" (36), but it is possible to qualify Kernan's assessment more suggestively: in light of his humanist education under Buchanan, James had a shrewd, up-to-date understanding of how to manipulate the *text* in the exercise of power. Having witnessed

first-hand as a child the power inherent in authorship, he realised—even if many of his subjects did not—that the intellectual ferment and exchange afforded by printed texts was an important locus of political and religious power. For James, literature was the very essence of politics, a necessary means of developing and communicating his identity in both kingdoms as an engaging, mediating, adjudicating, and authoritative monarch. In his preface to James's 1616 *Workes*, James Montague optimistically describes the effect of the king's published texts on readers in a world that was becoming increasingly print-oriented:

They looke upon his Maiesties Bookes, as men looke upon Blasing-Starres, with amazement, fearing they portend some strange thing, and bring with them a certain Influence to worke great change and alteration in the world: Neither is their expectation herein deceiued. ("Preface" c4v)

James—the bookish boy king of Scotland, friend of Oxford University, and textual king of Britain—would no doubt agree.

Notes.

¹This quotation is taken from James Montague's preface to James's collected *Workes*, page C4r.

²The original citation from Wake's 1607 *Rex Platonivus* is as follows:

Magni imitaretur, optio ne et si Iacobus non suisset, posset hic esse Academicus. Nec illud modo, sed cum catenulas, quibus libri singuli vinciuntur, contueretur, Equidem (inquit) si vnqua mihi in satis fit vt (at dicense haereo, & hisi tu dixisses, nollem Iacobe dicere, illudque; tuus nosterque; vertat Deus omen in hostes) captivus ducar, si mihi optio daretur, hoc cupere carcere concludi, his catenis illigari, cum hisce conceptiuis concatenatis aetatem conterere. (122-3).

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